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COP30

UN Grabs More Power

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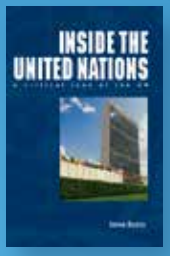

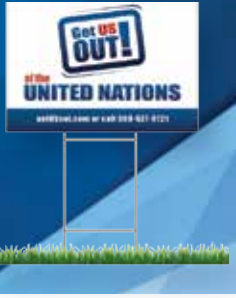

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From the Editor

No, the Climate Agenda Is Not About the Climate

If the climate agenda were really about the climate, then the agenda's promoters would have abandoned their dire warnings about catastrophic climate change as soon as they realized their predictions were wrong.

Well, they have abandoned at least one past prediction. After all, how many are warning today that human-induced climate change is ushering in a new ice age? Yet *The Washington Post* published an article on July 9, 1971 that warned, "The world could be as little as 50 or 60 years away from a disastrous new ice age, a leading atmospheric scientist predicts." That scientist was Dr. S. I. Rasool of NASA and Columbia University, and the *Post* summarized his warnings: "'In the next 50 years' the fine dust man constantly puts into the atmosphere by fossil fuel-burning could screen out so much sunlight that the average temperature could drop by six degrees. If sustained over 'several years' — 'five to 10,' he estimated — 'such a temperature decrease could be sufficient to trigger an ice age!'" Others also warned about a coming ice age in the not-too-distant future.

Of course, that was half a century ago. Over the last several decades, the powers that be have consistently warned us that man's activities on Earth are causing runaway global warming leading to environmental catastrophe. So have they gotten it right this time? One reason not to believe this is that they keep warning that the coming catastrophe is just around the corner. Consider these warnings that were given wide circulation by The Associated Press in a 1989 story headlined "U.N. Predicts Disaster if Global Warming Not Checked":

> A senior U.N. environmental official says entire nations could be wiped off the face of the Earth by rising sea levels if the global warming trend is not reversed by the year 2000.
>
> Coastal flooding and crop failures would create an exodus of "eco-refugees," threatening political chaos, said Noel Brown, director of the New York office of the U.N. Environment Program, or UNEP.
>
> He said governments have a 10-year window of opportunity to solve the greenhouse effect before it goes beyond human control.

That window closed at the end of the last century, yet today the Establishment opinion cartel is still claiming that doomsday is just around the corner.

In part because of the dismal track record of the modern-day Chicken Littles, fewer and fewer people believe them. Of course, those who are still beguiled have not taken the time to become sufficiently informed to see through the fog of propaganda.

However, naïveté does not explain the actions of those at the top who are orchestrating the global propaganda blitz. As noted above, if this were the explanation, then they would cease their fear tactics and acknowledge they were wrong. The agenda of the movers and shakers behind the alarmism is not about saving the planet, but controlling it.

If they succeed in imposing their global agenda, what kind of world will it be? Last month's UN COP30 conference in Brazil, which *The New American* attended as accredited media, shines much light on this question — or, perhaps we should say, shines much light on the darkness, as exhibited by the demonic statue at COP30 that's shown on our cover. The global control that the schemers intend to impose is not just political; it is anti-God and anti-freedom.

The UN's global power grab may now seem stymied by President Donald Trump's resistance to it, but the globalist schemers fully intend to jump-start their agenda in the United States as soon as Trump is out of office. The threat is real. We therefore encourage you to read the following on-the-scene COP30 reports by Alex Newman and Andrew Muller, and to support the effort to get the United States out of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change — and out of the UN itself. ■

CORRECTION: In the Last Word column of our December 2025 issue, we stated that Senator Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa) is chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Of course, he chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Gary Benoit
Editor in Chief

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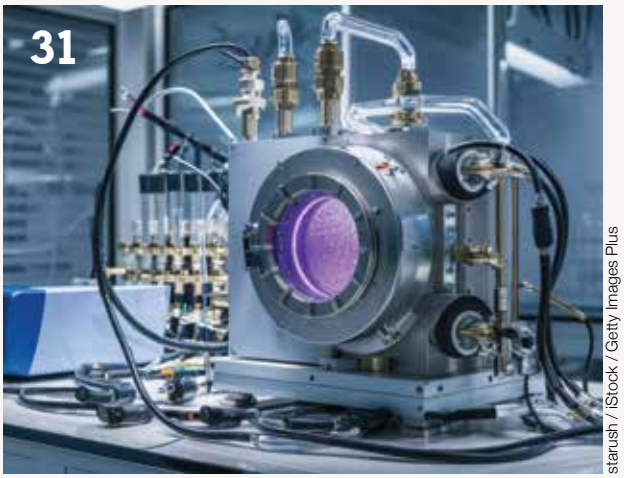

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"The Orange Plague," a Danish-made anti-Trump statue outside of COP30

U.S. Boycotts COP30, **UN Grabs More Power**

AT A GLANCE

- The United States did not send a delegation to COP30, but the conference proceeded with its agenda and produced a final agreement.
- As was evidenced at COP30, the grand scheme is to control the planet, not save it.
- The would-be masters of the world boast that they will quickly implement their subversive schemes in the United States as soon as Trump is out of office.
- The United States must get out of both the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the UN itself.

by Alex Newman

BELÉM, Brazil — Rumors of the global climate regime's demise have been greatly exaggerated. U.S. President Donald Trump's boycott of the 30th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, or COP30, may have knocked some wind out of the global-warming movement's sails in 2025. But schemes to undermine national sovereignty, individual liberty, and Western economic prosperity still advanced in a major way at the latest conference, which was held November 10-21 in Belém, Brazil. The globalist plan is clear: Keep building the global climate regime brick by brick, mostly under the radar, while waiting out Trump's final term.

Under the guise of climate "adaptation," the final agreement included a call for tripling the amount of wealth redistributed from taxpayers in wealthier nations to kleptocrats in poorer ones. That does not include the $1.3 trillion annually that was agreed to separately. All governments, aside from the United States, also renewed their total commitment to the Paris accord and the broader UN fight against CO_2 emissions. And a new set of "global indi-

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Andrew Muller / *The New American*

Much of the sparse U.S. press reporting and most of the tax-funded rent-a-mob nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) portrayed the summit as essentially a failure and a "COP flop."

cators" to "track progress" on "climate" was enshrined into this year's deal, too.

However, much of the most significant "progress" at this year's summit took the form of supplemental agreements and side deals approved by coalitions of governments outside the formal Conference of the Parties system. Everything from full-blown censorship of "misinformation" to the globalizing of "carbon markets" and "phasing out fossil fuels" was enshrined in separate documents. These deals brought together informal groupings of governments and dictatorships anxious to move faster than the rest of the global "consensus." But the expectation is that all governments will eventually catch up, perhaps after Trump leaves office.

Much of the sparse U.S. press reporting and most of the tax-funded rent-a-mob nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) portrayed the summit as essentially a failure and a "COP flop." Their argument was simple: The climate crisis is so serious and so severe that only a much more rapid shift away from hydrocarbon (fossil fuel) energy and into global carbon markets to charge people for their emissions of CO_2 will suffice in saving Mother Earth.

COP30 did take baby steps in that direction, though. It is true that there were strong headwinds: Trump has been loudly ridiculing the climate-change "hoax," and he even suggested during the summit that those involved in the climate "conspiracy" were being investigated and may be prosecuted. Even alarmist billionaire Bill Gates toned down the hysteria on climate, perhaps hoping to cash in on energy-hungry AI while Trump is in the White House.

And so it may be true that the progress made was not enough for those seeking faster empowerment of the UN's climate regime, but this same general argument is made every year — even when the summit takes a giant leap forward. In any case, the momentum remains firmly with the alarmists and globalists despite minor setbacks.

The Global Mutirão Deal: CO_2 Must Go

The final agreement is bold. First, the wealth redistribution being sought grows every year. This year's agreement demands $1.3 trillion per year by 2035. It also calls for tripling "adaptation finance," a separate funding scheme, over 2025 levels by 2030. Ironically, during COP30, the alarmist U.K. *Guardian* released an investigation showing that Communist China, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and others were among the nations receiving "large sums of climate finance." Less than a fifth of that "finance" was going to the poorest fourth of countries.

In addition to massive increases in wealth redistribution, the deal — dubbed the global "Mutirão," an Indigenous term for cooperation — repeatedly touts globalism and even "the critical role of multilateralism based on United Nations values and principles." Over and over again, the agreement celebrates the "centrality of international cooperation" in battling the supposed threat of alleged man-made global warming. Every UN member at the summit signed on to this, including all U.S. "allies," none of whom were willing to speak to *The New American* on record.

Perhaps even more concerning is the discussion of the UN-backed "carbon budget." The deal approved at COP30 claims humans have already emitted four-fifths of their allowable budget, with the United States and Europe responsible for the bulk of that. Under this vision, the UN and its members will eventually have to forcibly limit human activity that releases CO_2 under the guise of stopping temperature changes. Indeed, the deal calls for "deep, rapid and sustained reductions in global greenhouse gas emissions."

Of course, every human activity, including breathing, releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. However, human emissions of CO_2 — known to serious scientists as the "gas of life" — represent a fraction of one percent of all the greenhouse gases present naturally in the atmosphere. Leading scientists such as Dr. William Happer, who served as Trump's climate advisor during his first term, have told *The New American* that more CO_2 would be good for the world. But from the perspective of tyrants, CO_2 as the enemy is the perfect pretext for controlling every human activity.

UN COP30 ad pressuring "fossil fuel" executives to end "man-made climate change"

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

From Goals to Action

In a little-noticed but highly consequential section of the COP30 agreement, negotiators quietly advanced what critics warn is a blueprint for expanded global governance under the banner of "implementation." Beyond the headline promises, the final deal purports to lock nations into an intricate web of new "global adaptation indicators," mandatory reporting cycles, gender-based "climate assessments," and cross-border monitoring schemes designed to measure compliance with future climate obligations.

Taken together, these mechanisms shift the UN process from aspirational goal-setting into a far more intrusive evaluation and enforcement phase. While Marxist Brazilian President Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva did not get his wish for a "global environmental council" with enforcement powers, this is an important step in that direction. Over time, these schemes could empower UN agencies, development banks, and transnational climate bodies to collect data, rate national performance, and even shape domestic policy through funding conditions and "technical assistance."

By embedding these standardized metrics into national governments' planning, the final COP30 deal effectively builds the scaffolding and framework for a permanent international oversight regime. For now, the actual emission targets and finance pledges remain relatively vague and nonspecific. But there is always next year's COP, or the one after that, or even the one after Trump leaves office and hands power over to the next U.S. president.

It is true that the deal avoided explicit language directly attacking national sovereignty. But according to critics, the architecture demanded in the COP30 deal full of indicators, reporting tools, and "capacity-building" programs will give international bureaucrats unprecedented leverage over how nations allocate resources, regulate energy, and govern their own economies.

The Wish List: Total Control

While they did not get their more extreme demands in the final deal, the wish list of the climate Borg that congregates in exotic locations every year to "Save the Climate" has become increasingly radical. The process is simple: The Deep State decides what the policy objectives are. Then, it funds phony "grassroots movements" to agitate for those things, providing pressure from below. And it buys politicians to make the case, providing pressure from above. Finally, media outlets funded by governments or special interests present the demands as reasonable requests from "civil society" that governments and the UN are simply listening to. And soon, the talking points move into the "mainstream."

One of the major talking points throughout recent summits has been the prospect of further advancing the phaseout of fossil fuels. The first big win for the movement occurred at COP28 in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. While Arab dictatorships, communist regimes, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were exposed literally making oil deals at the summit, the final agreement explicitly called for the phaseout of fossil fuels for the first time ever. Of course, as *The New American* explained at the time, the phaseout of cheap and reliable energy was only ever intended to apply to the United States and the Western world.

At COP30, talk of creating the "roadmap" to make the phaseout possible was all the rage. Global Policy Campaign Manager Romain Ioualalen with the Rockefeller oil-dynasty front group Oil Change International, among the most consequential groups demanding this end to fossil fuels, was blunt when speaking to *The New American* about it.

"You cannot have negotiations to tackle climate change without tackling the root cause of climate change, which is our continued dependence on oil, coal, and gas," he said, claiming it was feasible to eliminate hydrocarbons even as he defended Communist China's ongoing and gargantuan increases in CO_2 emissions. "Not only do you need finance [money], but you also need the rich countries that still produce a lot of oil and gas such as the United States, Canada, Norway, and Australia — to phase out first." Indeed.

Greenpeace, one of the most powerful astroturf groups in the climate movement, drew up a gargantuan bill for "polluters." Demanding an estimated $5 trillion from Western oil companies for everything from hurricanes and droughts to floods and other disasters, the far-left environmentalist group's leaders said that was the least they could do. The state-backed oil giants of Middle Eastern dictatorships and the CCP with its coal machinations were conspicuously missing from the list of those expected to pay up.

"What Greenpeace has done is use the international database of disasters and then chosen the most expensive disasters since the Paris Agreement," a representative for the organization told *The New American* in explaining how the group came up with the $5 trillion figure. "The estimate was also produced using estimates from the 'social cost of carbon' from some university professors." Of course, the outfit works closely with climate dignitaries while making them look moderate by comparison.

Other leaders and activists who spoke with *The New American* demanded everything from trillions of dollars in "climate reparations" and huge taxes on meat to more-vigorous population control. "Net zero" is also high on the agenda. Indeed, the same process described above is being used to bring governments, businesses, the UN, and the rent-a-mob machine in line on the prospect of reducing net human emissions of CO_2 to zero. This impossible goal will create endless opportunities for profit among megabanks, oil companies, and others while giving tyrants and the UN itself a blank check over virtually everything.

UN Bosses & Alarmists Celebrate U.S. Absence

Even as the Deep State and the world's governments and their tax-funded front groups were demanding everything and then some, the Trump administration was nowhere to be found to oppose it all. When we asked why, a U.S. State Department spokesman sent us a brief official statement: "The Trump Administration refused to use taxpayer dollars to send or facilitate any official travel for this conference, which is dedicated to hamstringing the American economy and bankrupting the American people."

Of course, it is true that a major objective of the summit was to hamstring the American economy and bankrupt the American people. And yet, the U.S. government remains in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the underlying treaty and bureaucracy that created the COP process. When we asked about this, the State Department sent another short statement: "President Trump ordered a review of U.S. participation in and funding for international organizations to ensure U.S. investments in international organizations are not contrary to American interests."

The strategy was popular with many American conservatives. But more than a few UN officials celebrated the fact that the U.S. government was not there to act as a roadblock to "consensus." Former UN climate czarina Christiana Figueres, who oversaw the creation of the Paris accord in 2015 and opened COP16 in Cancún, Mexico, with a prayer to the Mayan goddess of cannibalism and war, was among those glad to see the Trump administration missing. "I actually think it is a good thing," she said, arguing that the U.S. government would seek to "obstruct progress."

Leading activist and legal operative Jean Su with the Center for Biological Diversity — an extremely well-funded outfit peddling climate hysteria and global "solutions" — expressed similar sentiments on a panel during COP30. Claiming American states and "every single community" in the United States would use UN agreements coming out of COP30 and future COPs as a "North Star" to save the planet, Su argued that the United States would ultimately be bound by whatever the UN decides once Trump leaves office anyway.

"The US is not here this year, which means that they cannot stop this roadmap in its tracks here," argued Su as she gesticulated hysterically, echoing comments by other leading figures at the summit in light of the fact that the U.S. government has not yet withdrawn from the UNFCCC. "Once the Trump administration leaves, the United States administration is then obliged to meet that roadmap. And if that takes 3 years for them to come back in, that is a win as well."

U.S. Still In?

Unfortunately for those hoping for better news, Su may be right, experts said. As leading climate skeptic Marc Morano of ClimateDepot.com told *The New American* in an interview, as long as the U.S. government remains a party to the UNFCCC, legal analysts say, the next administration can simply re-join Paris and other agreements negotiated under the primary 1992 treaty. Getting out of the UNFCCC is "the most important thing" Trump could do right now to defeat the climate movement, added Morano, whose appearances on Fox News while at COP30 were highlighted by Trump on Truth Social.

"When President Obama signed the [United States on to the] UN Paris pact in 2015, that agreement did not need ... to be ratified according to legal analysts at the time, it did not need Senate ratification," he explained. "This was never tested, because it was just merely a sort of progression of the 1992 treaty. They said we already ratified what this treaty does. So, in 2015 we were able to start imposing the

This year's agreement demands $1.3 trillion per year by 2035. It also calls for tripling "adaptation finance," a separate funding scheme, over 2025 levels by 2030.

UN Paris Agreement on the U.S. because of that 1992 treaty. So, Trump pulls out in 2017 — didn't matter. Biden put us right back in. Trump undoes the entire climate agenda — it doesn't matter. Biden restarted it all on steroids."

If Trump wants to stop a "future President Gavin Newsom" from overturning all his efforts to expose and stop the climate agenda, he must go for the jugular: U.S. involvement in the UNFCCC. "If we can vacate this 1992 treaty, according to legal analysts — and this is according to *Politico*, it's according to media outlets, mainstream reporters as well as legal scholars — it would make it very, very difficult for the next president to get us back in," Morano continued. "You would need to sign a new treaty, and you would then need to ratify the treaty, which I believe would be virtually impossible to do right now. So that's what Donald Trump needs to do on the international front."

Newsom Campaigns in the Amazon for Climate Tyranny & Presidency

As if confirming what Morano warned about, California Governor Gavin Newsom (D) arrived in Belém like a rock star turned triumphant conqueror. Claiming Trump would not be a "permanent fixture" of American politics while blasting him as an "invasive species," Newsom told world leaders that the U.S. government would be back at the table soon enough. In the meantime, state and local governments, along with the business sector, were "still in" the UN's climate regime. Newsom also claimed he was "absolutely" standing in for the United States amid Trump's absence.

Among other major announcements, Newsom inked a number of unconstitutional quasi-treaties with foreign governments — several of which are dominated by self-proclaimed communist and socialist leaders hostile to the United States. These "partnerships," signed on the third day of the UN climate summit, will supposedly "improve environmental protection" and "strengthen cooperation on climate and job-creating clean energy," his office said in a statement.

"California remains a steadfast partner in confronting the climate crisis," Newsom declared. "These agreements strengthen our collaboration to advance healthy ecosystems and healthy communities — cutting methane emissions across waste, agriculture, and energy sectors to achieve shared climate goals. California is proud to unite shoulder-to-shoulder with Chile, Colombia and Brazil to deliver real results for people and the planet."

With polls showing most Americans reject the man-made climate-change hypothesis and that there is little interest in "climate" even among those who believe, Newsom acknowledged that alarmists have a big marketing problem. But he urged the UN and the summit's nearly 60,000 attendees to simply adjust the rhetoric. "Climate change can seem abstract," Newsom said. "We need to talk in terms that people understand. It's about people, places, lifestyles and traditions. If we put things in those terms, we can start winning people over."

Recent polling backs up Newsom's concern. Even as elitists demand trillions for climate schemes, less than half of Americans are willing to pay even a dollar more per month on their power bills for such policies, according to a 2025 University of Chicago/EPIC poll, with only 38 percent willing to pay as little as $1. Less than one-third of Americans are willing to pay even $10 a month to stop "climate change," an earlier AP-NORC poll found. But Newsom and his climate friends have a plan.

"I think we have to use different language. The vast majority of my audience doesn't know what Celsius is. You're talking 1.5 degrees Celsius. How many more degrees is that in Fahrenheit?" he asked. "We talk about greenhouse gas emissions. Where are they? Do they float in the sky, or where do they land? We don't understand. We have to use better metaphors. We have to change our language." In other words, they are preparing for the next assault — and this one presumably will be better thought out.

UN Bosses Celebrate Progress

Newsom and the UN bosses and NGO bigwigs may be right. Despite the whining from the NGO choir, totalitarian governments seeking loot, the alarmist media, and even leading UN officials were celebrating the progress they made. It was not as much progress and ambition as the alarmists and the powerful forces behind them would have liked — especially when considering that the end goal is global governance, a planetary technocratic economic regime, and even a uniting of the world's religions. But it was still progress for the agenda.

"COP30 showed that climate cooperation is alive and kicking," declared UNFCCC Executive Secretary Simon Stiell during his final remarks at the summit after the adoption of the deal, "keeping humanity in the fight for a livable planet. And that's despite roaring political headwinds. While one country stepped back, 194 countries have stood firm in solidarity — rock-solid in support of climate cooperation."

Of course, it is true that a major objective of the summit was to hamstring the American economy and bankrupt the American people.

Native Amazonian aboriginal outside of COP30 in Belém, Brazil

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

Jean Su, the energy justice director and senior attorney for the Center for Biological Diversity, discusses how the United States must subvert Trump to push climate alarmism.

Debbie Bacigalupi / *The New American*

"The direction of travel is clear: The shift from fossil fuels to renewables and resilience is unstoppable, and it's gathering pace," continued Stiell, the chief UN official in charge of shepherding the annual climate negotiations that continue building upon the underlying 1992 UNFCCC treaty. "We reached unanimous agreement on key agenda items: Just transition, gender, and the tripling of adaptation finance."

Stiell pointed to multiple provisions of the final agreement that he said proved his point. For instance, in paragraph 10, governments unanimously agreed that "the global transition towards low greenhouse gas emissions and climate-resilient development is irreversible and the trend of the future." In paragraph 15, governments reiterated their support for previous agreements, including the COP28 language on moving away from fossil fuels.

They also made clear that this was not simply a mission for governments: The private sector must be involved, too. As Stiell pointed out in his remarks, all UN member states present at COP30 agreed in paragraph 29 that "all actors" must "work together to significantly accelerate and scale up climate action worldwide." And as soon as Trump leaves office, they fully intend to put the pedal back to the metal.

"We must go further and faster," Stiell continued as he assured climate dignitaries, alarmist media outlets, and activists that, despite the setbacks this year, there was much more to come and nothing could stop it. "Our direction is clear: The shift from fossil fuels to renewables and resilience is unstoppable.…We're building — day by day, step by step, COP by COP — a better world for billions more people in every part of the world."

Big Side Deal: Globalizing Carbon Markets

In addition to the final deal adopted by consensus and celebrated by Stiell, dozens of governments joined forces on an ad-hoc basis to advance the climate agenda. One of the most important but least noticed announcements in the United States involves the merger of various major "carbon markets" into a single international system to cap the amount of CO_2 that can be emitted and then trade "carbon credits." Indeed, the Marxist-led Brazilian government and the European Union created the Open Coalition on Compliance Carbon Markets to do just that. The regime ruling Communist China is also an enthusiastic proponent.

EU President Ursula von der Leyen explained the significance of the move in a statement praising the new alliance with the regime in Brazil. "Carbon pricing has become a central tool to reduce greenhouse gas emissions with a strong business case for the economy and for the people," she said. "I am happy to confirm the support of the European Union to the Declaration on the Open Coalition on Compliance Carbon Markets. We want to work closely with Brazil and with many like-minded partners on putting a price on carbon."

Calling on all other governments to integrate their own so-called carbon markets over time, the agreement touted the "important role of carbon markets as one of the drivers of climate action." The deal commits the governments involved to work together on "carbon pricing mechanisms," "Monitoring, Reporting and Verification systems," and "carbon accounting methodologies."

The Marxist would-be despot ruling Brazil, whose regime staged a phony coup against itself and imprisoned its leading political opponent Jair Bolsonaro as the COP was coming to a close, boasted of the possibilities for extracting more wealth from people. "Carbon markets can become important sources of public revenue," he said, as if more money for government was necessarily and unquestionably a good thing. "But," he added, "they will only gain scale if countries move towards common parameters."

If and when the system goes global and ensnares the United States, each Ameri-

UN attendees, delegates, and activists walk the bustling halls of the COP30 venue in the Amazon Rainforest.

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

can would have to pay for CO_2 emissions. Whether breathing would be exempt was not immediately clear, but virtually everything else would fall under the scheme. The regimes ruling Russia, China, Brazil, South Africa, and even India are all moving in that direction, along with the EU and virtually every other area. So are California and various other Democrat-led states. Eventually, globalists and communists fully expect the whole United States to be ensnared, too.

Transition Away From Fossil Fuels and Free Speech

Other key agreements negotiated outside the formal structure took aim at fossil fuels and free speech. While tyrants of various varieties were hoping to secure universal agreement and consensus to get the schemes into the final deal, they were forced by practical realities to get the most extreme elements into side agreements.

After it became clear that some governments emboldened by Trump would not support more language calling for an end to fossil fuels, Ambassador André Corrêa do Lago, the COP boss from Brazil, announced a separate deal on the issue. The scheme, which managed to get almost half of the UN's members on board, created "a working group" to advance the cause. As part of that, the Marxist-leaning government of Colombia and the Dutch government will co-host the first Global Fossil Fuel Phase-Out Conference next year.

Obviously, the delegates attending the summit will travel there using fossil fuels. Ironically, as the delegates were haggling over the phaseout of fossil fuels, a fire broke out at the summit. Thankfully for all in attendance, fossil fuels were plentiful and available to allow fire trucks to arrive and create the chemicals needed to put out the flames.

Another agreement on the sidelines of the COP targeted speech. As reported by *The New American* contributor Andrew Muller, who also attended the summit, the governments of key U.S. allies — including Germany, France, Canada, and Belgium — were among those that signed the Declaration on Information Integrity on Climate Change. That deal aims to foster more international cooperation in the war on those who question not just the "science," but also the "solutions," as a prominent UN official leading the charge put it at the summit.

Indoctrination Also Key

Also critical to advancing the global climate agenda will be the "education" of children not just to "understand" climate change, but to "take action." Indeed, bombarding children worldwide with a nonstop deluge of "climate change education" will be essential to saving the planet from the alleged dangers of carbon dioxide, according to key UN education officials at the summit. Weaponizing children must be at "the heart" of it all, UN functionaries declared as they celebrated the addition of "climate literacy" to international standardized academic testing.

"Education is one of the most powerful tools in the global efforts to address the climate crisis," argued UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Assistant Director-General for Education Stefania Giannini, one of several senior UN bureaucrats leading the charge at COP30. "We must ensure that every learner is equipped not only to understand the challenges but also to take action as part of the transition to a greener, more sustainable society."

Educators worldwide are supposedly all on board — all they need now is more money! Education International, a global alliance of teachers unions, is one of the key players in the effort to globalize climate indoctrination. As a major force behind the UN's Greening Education Partnership alongside UNESCO, Education International is one of many voices seek-

The Chinese Communist Party's booth was positioned prominently at the entrance to COP30.

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

The New American's Alex Newman at COP30

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

ing to dramatically and quickly accelerate the indoctrination of children. And during COP30, despite growing concerns about children suffering from "climate anxiety," they did not even try to hide their agenda.

"As we rise to protect our planet and our homes, education must stand at the center of our struggle," claimed Education International President Mugwena Maluleke, demanding that education be used to lead children and humanity into what he called the "just green economy." "The Earth deserves that hope. At COP30, educators call on every government to place education on the front line."

Critics Celebrate, Too

While there was plenty for supporters of sovereignty, liberty, and common sense to be concerned about, the outcome could have been far worse. Among those celebrating the defeat of many of the most extreme proposals was Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow chief Craig Rucker, who attended COP30 and has been attending UN climate summits for many years. Like other critics, he called for the United States to completely pull the plug on the whole UN climate process.

"The so-called collapse of the COP30 negotiations is welcome news to American taxpayers and those in the pro-liberty movement," Rucker told *The New American*. "Not only did the globalist climate radicals fail to get the governments attending this gathering to agree on eliminating fossil fuels, but they also took a huge step backwards from where they were last year as every mention of fossil fuels was stricken from the meeting's global Mutirão outcome document."

"The UN's inability to get governments fully committed to their radical climate agenda, especially after 30 years of trying, exposes how these bloated UN climate circuses are ineffective theater that prioritizes photo-ops over substance," he argued. "American taxpayers have long been fleeced to fund vague promises from nations like China that continue polluting unchecked — and not CO_2. It's high time we reject these sovereignty-sapping deals that would hamstring our energy sector and drive up costs for working families."

Conclusion

The globalists, communists, and other subversive forces behind the alarmist movement clearly did not get everything they hoped for out of COP30. But they still made progress. And the dangerous agenda to undermine national sovereignty, the free market, Western economies, and individual liberty remains a major threat. In fact, it continues to march forward, step by step, as the climate regime is built, brick by brick, COP deal by COP deal. The plan now is simply to wait for Trump to leave office and then get right back to it.

However, Americans, most of whom say in surveys they reject the hypothesis that human emissions are causing global warming, are not mere helpless spectators. There are critical steps that can and must be taken. On his own, Trump could deal a devastating blow to the agenda by simply withdrawing from the UNFCCC and defunding it all. But on an even broader level, Congress could withdraw from the entire UN with the DEFUND Act. With liberty and civilization at stake, Americans must get involved. ■

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The UN's Demonic Roots and Beyond

The "Dragon-Jaguar Guardian Spirit," a gift from the Chinese Communist Party to Brazil commemorating COP30

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

AT A GLANCE

- The demonic "Dragon-Jaguar Guardian Spirit" statue, gifted by Communist China, symbolized the spiritual reality behind COP30.
- The globalist threat to our way of life is not just political.
- Christian-style civilization is under attack.
- That attack comes from inside as well as outside religious bodies.

by Alex Newman

BELÉM, Brazil — Unlike carbon dioxide in the air, the spiritual feeling at the UN COP30 climate summit was so dark and thick you could cut it with a knife. Indeed, the Chinese Communist Party's demonic "Dragon-Jaguar Guardian Spirit" statue with the world in its hands symbolized well the spiritual reality behind the summit. This official gift masquerading as art from the CCP to Brazil was really a perfect representation of the whole climate process.

Beneath the veneer of unity and moral purpose, critics warned, the religious dimension of COP30 revealed a long-term shift that is increasingly out in the open: the re-paganization of the West and the sidelining of Christian civilization. In effect, COP30 shined the light on a growing spiritual realignment: a globalist, syncretistic, Earth-centered ethic replacing the historic Christian understanding that shaped Western civilization and gave birth to the United States and its ideas on liberty.

This religious element is much more than just moral cover for a global power grab. It is a profound restructuring of the way people see reality, nature, life, the world, and their place in the cosmos. Climate-change activism is more than just saving the environment — it is portrayed by this growing legion of religious activists as a shared spiritual mission that unites all decent and honorable people in a holy cause. Obviously, this has profound implications for humanity.

In addition to the political and economic agendas advanced at COP30 discussed on page 6, one of the least reported but most consequential developments in Belém was in fact the increasingly religious and spiritual framing of the global climate movement. Far from being a secular, science-driven assembly, COP30 brought together an unprecedented coalition of world religions. This alliance included everything from Catholics and Protestants to Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus, Jews, and Indigenous pagans and spiritualists. They all rallied under a reinvented global moral consensus built largely around climate action and CO_2 emissions.

Even before COP30 began, the tone was

set during the Faith in Climate 2025 event last summer touted by the UN and Brazilian authorities. COP30 CEO Ana Toni was in attendance and praised the religious fervor. "We have called this great collective effort to fight climate change a 'Mutirão,'" she said, using the Indigenous word for collective effort that became a rallying cry for the summit. "But after this event, I would say that COP30 is not only a great Mutirão but also a great communion."

Two crucial spiritual elements long documented by *The New American* magazine about this environmental holy war were on full display in Belém. First, COP30 showed unprecedented religious convergence — a "spiritual coalition" bringing together all the major religions and religious movements of the world behind the UN climate program. The unity revolves around an emerging new moral framework that replaces historic biblical understandings of sin with a new vision in which CO_2 emissions and other alleged offenses against "Mother Earth" are the real moral evil. COP30 culminated with a virtual interfaith climate liturgy.

Second, COP30 and the broader climate movement are now increasingly and openly integrating pagan and pantheistic spirituality into everything — all while marginalizing the biblical worldview and the Christian civilization that resulted from it. This was on full display everywhere during the summit. At official events throughout COP30, Indigenous rituals and pagan Earth-worship symbolism not only were present — they were center stage in discussions about the damage humans are supposedly doing to "Mother Earth."

Religious Convergence and Unity

Supposed man-made climate change has for years served as the perfect pretext for uniting the religions of the world behind a common cause. As *The New American* reported in 2022 from COP27 in Egypt, a global interfaith coalition worked with the UN to unveil a new "Ten Commandments" on Mount Sinai. Meanwhile, the George Soros- and UN-funded group Religions for Peace, an outfit described by its leader as the "UN of religions," brings together virtually all major religious organizations and traditions behind the UN and its agenda.

At COP30 in Belém, these trends were clearer than ever. For instance, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) unleashed its Interfaith Liaison Committee (ILC) to inject spirituality into everything. Purporting to represent dozens of religions ranging from Christianity, Islam, and Judaism to paganism and Earth worship, the ILC's fingerprints were ubiquitous. Its official "Prayers and Meditations for COP30" spiritual event brought in imams, rabbis, and even Indigenous shamans from around the world to pray for bold "climate action."

Meanwhile, a coordinated Interfaith Talanoa Dialogue, an Indigenous term from Fiji meaning "process of discussion," featured representatives from countless religions. They stated they were all united in "climate justice" ethics and in supporting global climate targets. In their COP30 Interfaith Call to Action, the religious leaders called for restructuring global society and the global economy around "sustainability" and "climate justice." Pointing to a recent ruling by the International Court of Justice, the religious leaders also claimed that "all UN member states" are bound by supposed international law to submit.

"Climate justice necessitates a rapid and equitable phase out of fossil fuels," reads the 2025 Interfaith Talanoa Call to Action for COP30. "Achieving a better future requires ambitiously addressing the root causes of climate change.... We as faith communities support economic and societal changes in solidarity with the bold political decisions necessary to build a just and sustainable path forward."

Ironically, after berating generations of American Christians for being involved in politics, the leftist religious leaders argued that "faith communities call collectively on our moral and ethical foundation to guide, urge, and support governments" in making strong pledges to rein in CO_2 emissions. "Governments must exercise political will, leadership, and moral courage to raise ambition and create firm and transparent timetables to ensure targets are met," the interfaith declaration declared.

Islamic leaders also provided a major push. Omar Lakis with Brazil's Instituto de Estudos da Religião (Institute for Religious Studies), speaking at the Faith in Climate 2025 event for COP30, said the Muslim prophet Muhammad taught his followers environmental preservation. "They would save water, even when it was abundant, and conserve resources," Lakis declared, calling it a "lifestyle that coincides" with fighting global warming. "There's a word for this, *ruma*, which means the habit of using only what is necessary. It's about using water as needed, food as needed, and planting a tree."

Christians Join Forces

Even ostensibly Christian churches and denominations have been jumping on the bandwagon, and they were out in force at COP30. One of the key Christian players, known as the ACT Alliance, claims to represent more than 140 Christian denominations around the world. In its COP30 statement, the group was blunt: "Climate justice is a faith imperative that unites us across traditions."

The World Council of Churches (WCC), long under the sway of Soviet-aligned church leaders, pretended to speak on

> Beneath the veneer of unity and moral purpose, critics warned, the religious dimension of COP30 revealed a long-term shift that is increasingly out in the open: the re-paganization of the West and the sidelining of Christian civilization.

The New American's Alex Newman interviews an aboriginal Amazonian Indian who peddles the "ancient wisdom" of Native Americans to save "Mother Earth."

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

behalf of churches worldwide. "We have launched an Ecumenical Decade of Climate Justice Action at our central committee meeting in Johannesburg in June. And the reason that the word 'justice' is part of this title is very important," said WCC central committee moderator Bishop Professor Dr. Heinrich Bedford-Strohm. "It cannot be that those who have contributed least to climate change are the first victims. There needs to be reparatory justice for those who are now the victims."

His theological views were interesting, to put it mildly. "When we say God created us, we also affirm that God created us together with nonhuman creation," argued Bedford-Strohm. "That gives us a sister- and brother-relationship with the whole of nonhuman creation."

The Roman Catholic Church was out in force, too, featuring its largest delegation ever to attend a UN climate summit, with what insiders called an "unprecedented number" of cardinals and bishops. Now under the leadership of Pope Leo XIV, who famously blessed a large ice block as part of a recent climate event, the Vatican doubled down on the late Pope Francis' eco-religiosity this year. Catholic clergy issued endless pronouncements urging humanity to repent and embrace the "moral duty" to protect Earth.

Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Pietro Parolin, who led the delegation and spoke at the opening leaders' summit in lieu of Pope Leo XIV, called for united global action. "Collective selfishness and disregard for the common good prevent nations from taking the action that morality demands," Parolin declared on behalf of the new pontiff. "Climate change is a global problem demanding a global vision."

The pope himself even released a video encouraging the religious leaders gathered in the Amazon for COP30. Celebrating a "global community that works together," he lamented that it has "delivered progress, but not enough." It is time for "concrete actions" rather than just hope and determination, the pope continued.

"The creation is crying out in floods and droughts, storms and relentless heat," Leo added, claiming without citing a source that one in three people "live in great vulnerability because of these climate changes." There is still time to prevent too much warming, "but the window is closing," he said, touting the Paris accord as the "strongest tool" for protecting the planet. "Stronger climate actions," he said, will create "fairer economic systems."

The *Laudato Si'* encyclical by Pope Francis was a groundbreaking development for the UN, as it provided a religious pretext for the UN's environmental agenda. And despite Francis' passing, it reverberated all the way to COP30. Indeed, COP30 President André Corrêa do Lago said the papal document was regarded by the Brazilian government as "both an ethical compass and a pragmatic guide for this global mobilization" as it prepared its "Global Ethical Stocktake" for COP30.

Laudato Si' Movement COP30 representative Susana Moreira, a green-haired activist with tattoos, explained more in an interview with *The New American*. "We brought together different faith leaders from different religions to really talk about this ethical dimension," she said. "Because we're all part of this common home and different religions in different ways, they're all connected to this grounding of how the Earth helps us not only to sustain our bodies, our foods, everything that we need, but also how we practice our reli-

COP30 and the broader climate movement are now increasingly and openly integrating pagan and pantheistic spirituality into everything — all while marginalizing the biblical worldview and the Christian civilization that resulted from it.

gions…. We can really find ways to create this interreligious dialogue, to create stronger bonds between the religions, to help care for this common home of ours."

While there was plenty of "Christian" representation and rhetoric, genuine Christian ideas rooted in the Bible or even tradition were almost entirely absent — except when selectively invoked, usually out of context, to support UN climate mandates. "Christianity" that affirmed global governance was praised as "prophetic." Christianity that questioned climate orthodoxy was derided as regressive, anti-science, or dangerous.

Susana Moreira, a leader of the Catholic Laudato si' Movement, speaking with *The New American's* Alex Newman about "interfaith" action to stop "climate change"

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

Re-paganization of the West

At the heart of this whole climate process is the often implicit but sometimes explicitly stated argument that biblical Christianity is the reason for the "climate crisis" and environmental damage more broadly. In his landmark 1967 essay "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," academic Lynn White, Jr. argued that the Western Christian tradition — especially its interpretation of the Genesis "dominion mandate" — is the root of environmental problems.

The reason this biblical view is so problematic, the professor argued, is because it causes people to think of nature and the planet as a resource for human benefit. This line of thinking has had enormous influence over decades of ecological thought. As one summary puts it, many environmental writers contend that "Christian dominion theology" conditions people to undervalue nonhumans, thus laying ideological foundations for the exploitation of nature.

White, who taught at Princeton, UCLA, and Stanford, blasted Christianity as "the most anthropocentric religion the world has seen." Among other concerns, he argued that it insists "that it is God's will that man exploit nature for his proper ends." As such, he concluded that, because modern science and technology grew out of these Christian views, "Christianity bears a huge burden of guilt" for the supposed "ecological crisis."

The solution to this problem: Indigenous and tribal wisdom and spirituality. And there were plenty of Indigenous "folx" in feathered headdresses and beads to shower wisdom upon the post-Christian government, media, and nonprofit heavyweights at COP30. Guarani leader Mirim Ju Yam, for instance, opened a COP30 event with ancestral ritual songs. "The forest is alive," he chanted. "The spirits of the land speak. We must listen."

"In our culture lies the seed of preservation, of life in harmony with the Earth, and the understanding that nature is not something out there," Ju Yam continued, painting a picture of an idyllic past before the arrival of Christian civilization, in which his ancestors enjoyed a "sacred relationship" with land and nature. "Nature is not an object. Nature is everything that exists. We are part of that nature."

Another religious leader involved in COP30, "Mother Cícera of Oshun" with a traditional Afro-pagan religion known as Candomblé, explained her take. "Fresh water belongs to Oshun, rainwater to Iansã, lagoon water to Nanã, which represents decomposition — it falls into the lagoon, the lagoon decomposes, becomes fossil, sinks to the depths, and starts anew," she said. "We have the god of the forests, Oshosi. All our gods are from nature." These nature gods must be honored and appeased with sacrifices to save the world.

Multiple COP30 documents and side events promoted the pagan and animistic idea that rivers, forests, ecosystems, and nature have "rights" that must be protected. Pagan shamans in full regalia literally offered prayers to various deities referred to clearly in the Christian scriptures (Deuteronomy 32:17; 1 Corinthians 10:20) as demons. Sessions opened with ancestral chants, invocations of forest spirits, and affirmations that the Earth is a living spiritual being — language rooted not in the biblical worldview but in animistic and polytheistic traditions.

Indeed, multiple "Indigenous leaders" at the summit told *The New American* that "Mother Earth" and "Father Sky" are upset with humanity over climate change and other real and imagined abuses. Because of that, these deities are taking action against mankind. "Indigenous wisdom and spirituality" were repeatedly touted as the solution to placating these angry planetary deities.

Even the UN's own official messaging is permeated with this overall worldview.

Alex Newman posing with an Amazonian aboriginal leader at the COP30 "Green Zone"

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

For instance, the UN's top officials and even its agreements repeatedly refer to "Mother Earth," "the spirit of the forest," and "healing our relationship with the planet," all clear echoes of the anti-Christian cosmologies that are increasingly being seen as essential to saving the world.

None of this is new. In 2010, COP16 in Cancun opened with a prayer by UN climate chief Christiana Figueres, executive secretary of the UNFCCC. But it was not a Christian prayer. Rather, she prayed to Ixchel, whom she described as the Mayan goddess of "creativity" and "tapestries." Figueres requested divine wisdom from this being to weave a "creative tapestry" of "climate solutions." A quick online search, however, reveals that Ixchel has traditionally been associated with cannibalism, war, and human sacrifice. No doubt the CCP's "Dragon-Jaguar Guardian Spirit" would approve.

Going back further, *TNA* senior editor William F. Jasper watched as the UN Earth Summit in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro unveiled the same dark spiritual agenda. "From start to finish, the Rio Earth Summit was suffused in pagan-pantheist-New Age 'spirituality,' and enshrined a new dogma of the 'Sacred Earth' and 'Divine Nature,'" he wrote.

Indeed, in his opening statement, Earth Summit Secretary-General Maurice Strong directed the world's attention to the Declaration of the Sacred Earth Gathering. "The changes in behavior and direction called for here," said Strong, "must be rooted in our deepest spiritual, moral and ethical values."

The embrace of Indigenous spirituality and wisdom is part of a broader trend that has been explored in the pages of this magazine for years. Using tools such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the UN and globalists have been using Indians as a battering ram against Western civilization — especially the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Latin America. In fact, the UN agreement, approved by President Barack Obama, is being used to seize vast quantities of land worldwide under the guise of returning it to Indigenous peoples, while delegitimizing countries such as the United States.

Critics Respond

While almost no critics were on scene at COP30, there are powerful voices speaking out. One of those is Dr. E. Calvin Beisner, Ph.D., president of the Cornwall Alliance for the Stewardship of Creation, a Christian environmental organization working to apply biblical truth to these issues. Speaking to *The New American*, Beisner argued that the religious and spiritual views being promoted throughout the UN climate process are deeply unbiblical.

"The Bible clearly places man, made in the image of God, at the pinnacle of creation, and gives man authority, under God, to rule over the rest of the Earth," he explained. "That doesn't mean, as some environmentalists falsely assert, that Scripture justifies abusing nature. Instead, man's being made in God's image means man's use of nature should reflect God's as revealed in Genesis 1:1-25."

"God made everything from nothing, brought light out of darkness, order out of chaos, life out of nonlife, and great abundant variety of life, and instructed each kind to multiply," continued Beisner. "Man's rule over the Earth, mandated in Genesis 1:26-28, should reflect that: maximizing productivity by bringing more and more out of less and less; improving our knowledge ('light') to bring greater order out of lesser order; and increasing life."

Unfortunately, those gathered at COP30 buy into predictions of catastrophic environmental consequences from the use of fossil fuels, explained Beisner. Sound science and economics show the predictions to be inaccurate, with the benefits of fossil fuels far outweighing whatever minor harms might come from their use, he said, adding that CO_2 is good for the planet. "In short, COP30 is fighting the wrong enemy with the wrong means," he concluded.

Some Brazilian Christians became fiercely critical, too. In response to the CCP's "Guardian Spirit" statue, many Brazilian Christians from across denominations expressed outrage, saying the horned statue was clearly demonic. Across social media, numerous commentators argued that Brazil — famous for its iconic

Christ the Redeemer statue on Mount Corcovado — belongs to Jesus Christ, not the CCP's "Guardian Spirit."

Brazilian evangelical Christian leader Estevam Hernandes, with the Renascer (Rebirth) church, was quoted in the Brazilian press noting that "the horned dragon is the biblical symbol of deception and power contrary to God." He also noted that the statue suggests "a fusion of national identity with values that do not reflect our Christian tradition." Pointing to Revelation 12:9, Hernandes suggested the figure may be a representation of "the great dragon … who is called the devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world," who "was thrown down to the earth."

Sheila Zilinsky, a former Canadian environmental official turned critic and author of the popular book *Green Gospel*, has long argued that the real agenda is in fact spiritual. "The 'Church of Climate Change' is not a trend — it's a global religious takeover redirecting believers from the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Gospel of Earth Worship; pantheism/Gaia," she told *The New American*. "Its language — 'sustainability,' 'harmony with nature,' 'saving the earth' — is not biblical but rooted in occultism, satanism, and paganism."

Blasting the blasphemous notion of Mother Earth as the goddess Gaia, Zilinsky also pointed to writings by the Apostle Paul in Romans 1. He warned that when people suppress the truth in their unrighteousness, they "exchange the truth of God for a lie, and worship and serve the creation more than the Creator." The Green movement, warned Zilinsky, is the "ultimate fulfillment" of this warning. "It is not about saving the planet," she said. "It is about replacing God. Green theology is the greatest spiritual deception of our era!"

Get Involved

The New American has been warning for decades about this dangerous, tax-funded religious and spiritual agenda being propagated by the UN. It is now officially part of the UN climate program, with the spiritual component being openly celebrated and institutionalized. This represents a deadly threat not just to religious liberty, but to true religion and Christian civilization.

Fortunately, the American people — and American Christians in particular — can deal a deadly blow to this subversive agenda. But it will require action. If the religious dimension of COP30 shows anything, it is that the climate agenda is no longer merely political — it is spiritual at its core. The climate movement itself is saying this.

Spiritual battles require spiritual tools and responses, including prayer and a return to biblical truth. It is time for Americans to trust God rather than the UN. In this spiritual war, there is good and there is evil. As Joshua tells God's people in the Book of Deuteronomy, "Choose this day whom you will serve!" ■

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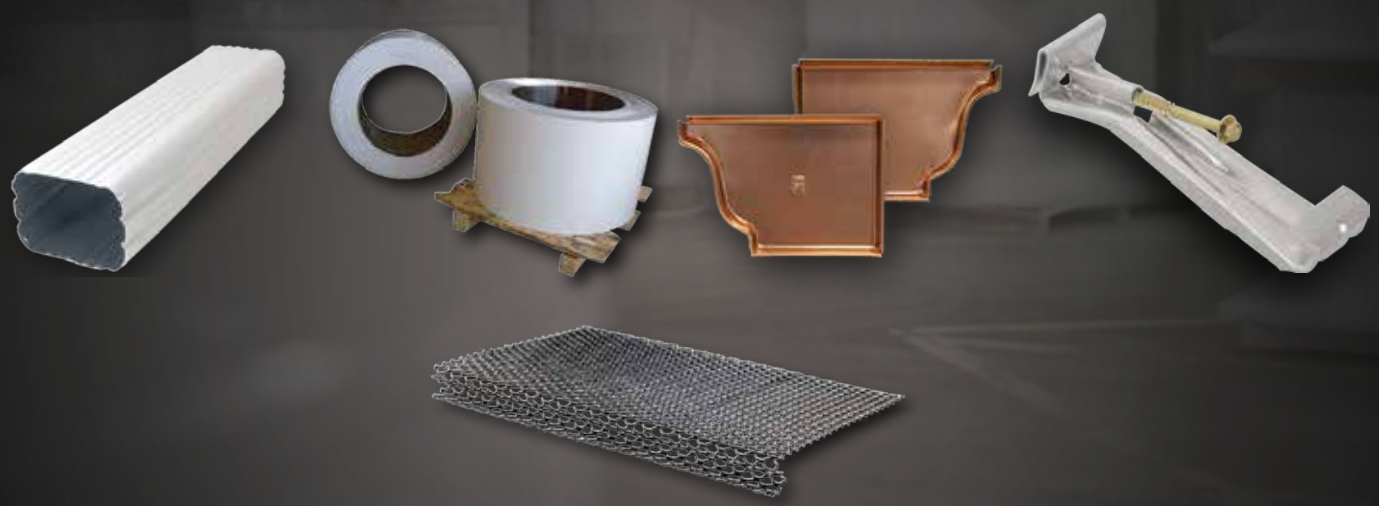

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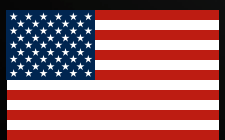

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U.S. Subnational Leaders poster at COP30 promoting American officials tackling the "climate crisis" locally

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

TO SUBVERT TRUMP, UN TAKES CLIMATE AGENDA LOCAL

AT A GLANCE

- The globalists are working to impose their big green regime not only from the top down, but also from the bottom up.
- One group behind the scheme — Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI) — was at COP30 in full force.
- California Governor Gavin Newsom signed unconstitutional treaties at COP30 as if he were a head of state.

Andrew Muller is a writer, researcher, and speaker on America's religious and constitutional heritage, with the specific goal of sharing a biblical worldview and Americanism.

by Andrew Muller

BELÉM, Brazil — U.S. President Donald Trump has labeled "climate change" the biggest "con job" in the world, called for climate conspirators to be investigated, and pulled the United States out of the United Nations Paris Agreement. There is no doubt that Trump has dealt a massive blow to the "man-made climate change" movement, but at the UN's 30th Conference of the Parties (COP30) climate summit, alarmists decided to subvert him and implement their agenda locally.

The plan is to simply outwork, outplan, and outspend those who disagree with the climate hoax and get to work locally, with the hopes that the next administration will play ball.

U.S. Can't Be Found

For the first time in history, the United States sent no representation to the UN climate confab. Even during President Trump's first term, he sent a delegation to tout the benefits of oil and gas, much to the dismay of climate activists and hysterics.

The New American's team reached out to the State Department for an explanation about the absence. "The Trump Administration refused to use taxpayer dollars to send or facilitate any official travel for this conference, which is dedicated to hamstringing the American economy and bankrupting the American people," a spokesman for the department said.

America's absence was felt. After all, the United States funds nearly one-third of the UN's annual budget and houses the UN headquarters in New York City. But

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

A climate activist displays his "climate countdown clock" ominously ticking down the seconds until the Earth is destroyed due to lack of "climate action."

the void felt by officials, diplomats, and negotiators was not met with sadness. It was met with an opportunistic spirit.

Jean Su, a key leader at the well-funded, U.S.-based Center for Biological Diversity, challenged COP30 negotiators to pass the most ambitious, expensive, and forward-looking agreement to stop fossil fuels and curb "climate change." Since the Trump administration is not here, Su said, the world needs to adopt a roadmap to repudiate the United States, anticipating that the next U.S. president will enforce it.

"For subnational leaders in the United States and communities all across the U.S., they want this roadmap," she added. "Even though the federal government may not abide by it, every single community has a north star to set a goal to phase out fossil fuels and get as much funding as possible." Since the United States did not send a delegation, she concluded, there is nothing they can do to stop the UN from making progress.

Local Governments for "Climate Federalism"

"You know, there is a saying in politics that 'all politics is local,'" Sam Cho, a Seattle Port Commissioner, told *The New American*, opining about how to subvert Trump and push climate alarmism. The need, Cho explained, for ironclad subnational action to bring about so-called sustainability through cutting CO_2 emissions is more important now than ever, while Trump is president. Cho, who has made Seattle's ports "sustainable," also said U.S. port policy must be federalized because his sustainable ports cannot compete with southern ports that reject green solutions.

During a panel at COP30 titled "U.S. Subnational Leaders: Engaging and Partnering to Deliver Climate Ambition," American officials spoke about how to advance the climate agenda during times of "federal uncertainty" under Trump. *The New American* spoke to New Mexico state Representative Andrea Romero, a Democrat, who said it was a "shame" that Trump refused to send a delegation, but that local governments would step up, fill the void, and continue to march toward a "just transition" from fossil fuels regardless of Trump's willingness to participate. Native Americans being central to the "just transition" is key, she added.

In fact, the movement to "go green" and "save the planet" locally is highly organized. One group behind the push, ICLEI — Local Governments for Sustainability — was at COP30 in full force. "Leaders of our towns, cities, regions and states around the world are acknowledging this urgency and are moving to act," the group, which boasts of having more than 2,500 cities, towns, and regions in its network, said in a statement to the UN climate summit.

Climate action should in fact start in town halls, city councils, and state legislatures, and it already is, the group bragged. "The climate action the world needs can start at the meeting tables of our cities, where ambitious road maps to phase out fossil fuels are already being planned," ICLEI said. "For cities and regions, fossil fuel phase-out is not only a climate imperative, it is a governance, equity, and public resilience imperative."

ICLEI even launched a Town Hall COP initiative, where citizens across America can host their own renditions of the UN climate confabs in their hometowns, so that the work is not limited to simply a two-week period with the UN. Through the scheme, ICLEI has already engaged more than 15,000 people in the fight.

This localized movement for climate action is an expression of "climate federalism," ICLEI claims, in which states can pick up the slack even if the country is lulled into a state of climate apathy. Ultimately, ICLEI and local leaders in the climate fight are simply making what progress they can while waiting out Trump so that the national and global push for climate action can continue at a faster rate.

We Are "All In"

When it became clear that the Trump administration would not send a delegation, California Governor Gavin Newsom flew down to Belém, Brazil, to act as a de facto American representative. Newsom unconstitutionally signed a handful of treaties with foreign governments to "save the planet," called Trump an "invasive species" that would not be around for much longer, and doubled down on climate alarmism.

Newsom is so locked in with UN programming to stop greenhouse gases (which are necessary for human flourishing) that in March 2025 he joined the America Is All In coalition as co-chair. The organization exists to uphold the UN's 2015 Paris Agreement and phase out fossil fuels.

"With the all-out assault we're now facing on low-carbon, green growth from the federal level, it's the subnational leaders — those of us leading our states and cities — who have to step up," Newsom said. "In California, we're not slowing down

our work to slash pollution and dominate clean industries of the future. In fact, we're ramping up because it will take all of us to meet this moment."

America Is All In has 368 local governments, more than 3,000 American businesses, and 431 higher-education institutions working to subvert the Trump administration and push the climate agenda at the subnational level.

Local Engagement Solidified

In the final COP30 global Mutirão (meaning "collective mobilization") agreement that all governments consented to, subnational involvement was prominently mentioned.

Stressing the importance of local climate action, the agreement states that "Subnational authorities at multiple levels, Indigenous Peoples, local communities, [and] people of African descent [are] contributing to the significant collective progress towards the long-term goals of the Paris Agreement and [are] addressing and responding to climate change and enhancing ambition and implementation, including progress through other relevant intergovernmental processes."

Doubling down on the push, the Mutirão demands "subnational authorities" work together to "accelerate and scale up climate action worldwide to keep 1.5 [°C] within reach, build resilience and mobilize means of implementation."

Conclusion

It is often the conservative wing of the country that emphasizes local engagement and bottom-up change, while progressives focus on top-down solutions and globalization. Even though the election of President Trump ushered in a time of climate-realism policy, freedom-loving Americans must not confuse momentum with victory.

First, patriots must recognize that the "man-made climate change" agenda is not about "saving the planet" from carbon dioxide. It is about gaining more power, getting more money, and oppressing more people through the expansion of the United Nations. This is obvious, as COP30 did not even mention the eradication of fossil fuels in its global Mutirão agreement. Since the United States did not send a delegation, they can't be blamed for the exclusion of a strong policy to end oil and gas "pollution." At COP30, the climate scheme was exposed for what it is: More than a globalist power grab seeking to "save the planet" from climate change, it is a global conspiracy to create a one-world government through the UN.

Secondly, Americans must investigate how their local governments are handling the ever-growing pressure to adopt solar, wind, and other "green" energies that are unreliable and costly. Activists in all 50 states, whether through ICLEI or the America Is All In coalition, are working to implement the UN's agenda in towns and cities. They must be exposed, resisted, and defeated — for the sake of nature as well as people. ■

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Danish artist Lasse Galschiøt stands for an interview with *The New American's* Andrew Muller (left) to discuss his statue "The Orange Plague," depicting an obese and nude Donald Trump.

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

UN FEARS DISSENT, EMBRACES FULL CENSORSHIP

AT A GLANCE

- The purveyors of disinformation do not want their lies exposed.
- They want to control the narrative.
- They have openly admitted to rigging algorithms with Google.
- They want to censor dissent and are doubling down on their Global Digital Compact.

by Andrew Muller

BELÉM, Brazil — The United Nations is targeting independent media, journalists, and commentators, as well as anyone who rejects the "man-made climate change" agenda, labeling them polluters in the "information ecosystem." The UN's leaning into censorship shows that climate realists are gaining ground.

At the 30th annual UN Conference of the Parties (COP30) in Belém, Brazil, communist and Brazilian President Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva set the stage, articulating the need for narrative control:

> In the era of disinformation, obscurantists reject not only scientific evidence but also the progress of multilateralism. They control algorithms, sow hatred, and spread fear. They attack institutions, science, and universities. It is time to once again defeat the denialists.

Arguing that "obscurantists" control algorithms beggars belief. In fact, it is the UN itself that has openly admitted to rigging algorithms with Google to place UN materials on climate change under YouTube videos and at the top of search engines.

"We partnered with Google," said Melissa Fleming, the UN's under-secretary-general for global communications. "For example, if you Google 'climate change,' you will, at the top of your search, you will get all kinds of UN resources." The partnership was formed when UN officials were "shocked to see that when we Googled 'climate change,' we were getting incredibly distorted information right at the top," she added.

At the UN's Summit of the Future in 2024, *The New American* confronted Fleming about the scandal. She dodged the question and fled the scene, claiming she had no time for media interviews. Literally moments after running away from us, though, she took multiple interviews with the Establishment press.

Governments Commit to Censorship in Groundbreaking Agreement

In line with Lula's rant on silencing opponents, Germany, France, Canada, and Belgium joined 16 other governments in signing on to the Declaration on Information Integrity on Climate Change, documenting the so-called threats that free speech and the free press pose to what U.S. President Donald Trump refers to as the climate "con job."

Signed at COP30, the declaration marks the first time that "information integrity" has been on the docket for COP's Action

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

The New American's **Andrew Muller (left) and Alex Newman outside COP30 in Belém, Brazil**

Agenda, illustrating that smothering opposition is essential to the success of the climate-alarmism movement.

Rather than addressing concerns about the UN's horrible track record of climate predictions, the failure of "green" energy, and the astounding hypocrisy of climate evangelists flying across the globe in private jets emitting massive amounts of carbon, the UN has opted to simply shut up anyone who disagrees with them.

But how will the UN, as Lula described, actually "defeat the denialists" who are allegedly controlling the narrative? First, the declaration acknowledges the necessity of narrative control to continue the UN's climate doomsaying:

> [We are] concerned by the growing impact of disinformation, misinformation, denialism, deliberate attacks on environmental journalists, defenders, scientists, researchers and other public voices and other tactics used to undermine the integrity of information on climate change, which diminish public understanding, delay urgent action, and threaten the global climate response and societal stability.

The 20 governments affirmed that the climate scam might have a shot at success by promoting and supporting the "sustainability of a diverse and resilient media ecosystem." But without "equitable access to accurate, consistent, evidence-based, and understandable information on climate change for all stakeholders," the agenda falls apart.

To clean up the "information ecosystem," all "misinformation," "disinformation," and "malinformation" (information that is true but malicious in its intent) must be eradicated. Therefore, governments agreed to pressure tech companies to "assess whether and how platform architecture contributes to the undermining of climate information ecosystem integrity, providing researchers with access to data to ensure transparency and build an evidence base," the declaration states.

Additionally, taxpayers must fork over mounds of cash to fund research on information integrity in line with the UN's agenda. They are flailing and turning to an authoritarian hush campaign to keep the scheme alive.

Doubling Down on the Global Digital Compact

The signatory governments heavily reference and affirm the Global Digital Compact, adopted by UN members at the Summit of the Future in 2024, which *The New American* covered on-site. The compact set forth a global framework for digital cooperation on artificial intelligence, manipulating algorithms, and digital control.

"Access to relevant, reliable and accurate information and knowledge is essential for an inclusive, open, safe and secure digital space," the compact declares. "We recognize that digital and emerging technologies can facilitate the manipulation of and interference with information in ways that are harmful to societies and individuals, and negatively affect the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as the attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals."

In a policy brief summarizing the need for the Global Digital Compact, the UN argues that the internet is akin to a natural resource like water and air. Everyone needs it, they claim, and it is best consumed when purified, filtered, and cleansed of all pollutants. Therefore, the internet and artificial intelligence must be directed toward the most productive ends, such as mitigating "climate change" and bolstering multilateralism (globalism).

UN Secretary-General António Guterres, the former president of the Socialist International, bragged about how the compact ushered in new levels of control that the UN had never dreamed of by manipulating the internet and AI. The rationale, Guterres revealed, was that "we cannot create a future fit for our grandchildren with a system built by our grandparents"; therefore, controlling the digital frontier is necessary.

"Global Risks"

Last year, in preparation for COP30, the UN published a Global Risks Report, which ranked and assessed hurdles impacting the quest to achieve a one-world system of government.

Of course, "climate change inaction" and "large-scale pollution" ranked as the first two global "risks." But shockingly, ranking above pandemics, nuclear weapons, cybersecurity, grid collapse, debt, and famine, "misinformation and disinformation" was the third highest-ranked risk out of 28 analyzed threats.

Zooming in from global threats to regional threats, the report focused on Europe and North America, where misinformation and disinformation rose from third place globally to second place regionally. Misinformation is the UN's second-high-

est threat — just below "climate change inaction" — for Americans.

"One vulnerability clearly stands out," the report says, "mis- and disinformation. It is perceived as an extremely important risk for which the international community is not prepared, with the potential to exacerbate geopolitical tensions, societal discord and crisis response challenges."

What is the UN's solution? More money, more control, and more censorship. In addition to governments committing millions to "climate research," the Global Risks Report demands immediate action to create a task force to grow the UN's capacity to address the threat that a free press presents to their agenda. The team will "focus on the effects of mis- and disinformation on United Nations mandate delivery, including through research, risk assessment and response strategies."

The tension bubbling up regarding freedom of speech and freedom of the press cannot be overstated. The UN has set the table and made its intentions crystal clear, and is steaming ahead with complete and utter Orwellian censorship to clear the path for those objectives.

COP30 Workshops on How to Stop "Information Laundering"

At COP30, the urgency to clean up the "information ecosystem" through censorship was on full display. During a panel discussion titled "Global Initiative for Information Integrity on Climate Change," UN Senior Adviser on Information Integrity Charlotte Scaddan said, "Purveyors of climate disinformation don't simply deny climate change. They undermine climate action by attacking researchers, scientists, and journalists personally; by questioning the scientific consensus around climate change and creating false narratives around climate solutions."

Key to the censorship scheme is targeting so-called haters and harassers who question "experts" and their supposed solutions. These coordinated efforts, Scaddan explained, exist to stall climate action and the UN's swift acceleration plan to save the planet.

The effort to pollute the "information ecosystem," mostly by independent media outlets, bloggers, and podcast truth-tellers, is too successful, Scaddan revealed. The rise of alternative media has "skewed" the "perceptions of policy makers and of the people here [at COP30]" to believe that climate change is not a crisis. In this, Scaddan is correct. The destruction of what used to be referred to as the "mainstream media" has led to a mass awakening regarding climate hysteria. And the polling data prove it.

A 2019 poll from AP-NORC posed to Americans a hypothetical situation: "Suppose a proposal was on the ballot next year to add a monthly fee to consumers' monthly electricity bill to combat climate change. If this proposal passes, it would cost your household $____ every month. Would you vote in favor of this monthly fee to combat climate change, or would you vote against this monthly fee?"

Nearly half of those polled said they would be opposed to paying even a single dollar more per month to combat climate change. Sixty-eight percent opposed paying $10 a month, and 82 percent opposed paying $100 a month to save "Mother Earth." Obviously, people are not buying it.

This awakening can be blamed on dissenters who participate in "information laundering," Scaddan said. "It is much like money laundering but with misinformation."

Practicing What They Preach

Beyond the discussions in hallways and speeches in breakout sessions about censoring climate skeptics, the UN illustrated its commitment to smothering dissent by barring critical media from the event.

Rebel Media, a Canadian-based independent media outlet, was refused entry to report on the conference after spending thousands of dollars to travel to Brazil. In fact, at the behest of Justin Trudeau's regime, Rebel Media has been banned from attending UN climate summits since 2016 for asking serious questions at the confabs.

"We applied for accreditation this year," Sheila Gunn Reid, Rebel News' chief reporter, told *The New American*. "And they [UN] accredited us." But after making the long trip from Canada to Brazil and presenting their acceptance letter to UN staff, Reid and her cameraman were rejected on the spot.

"Telling the truth with regard to climate change for these people is disinformation," she said. She added that raising taxes and funding the UN will never change the weather. The answer is lifting people out of poverty through increasing the use of oil, gas, and coal to create reliable energy.

Real Disinformation in Practice at COP

While in Brazil for COP30, *The New American's* team experienced true disinformation on display by the Establishment media, who warped and misquoted their coverage to push false narratives.

The New American's team discovered that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had given Brazil a commemorative statue to celebrate the gathering. We discovered the figure after some exploring in the city of Belém. The CCP titled the statue the "Dragon-Jaguar Guardian Spirit."

Depicted as a horned jaguar with spikes coming out of its back, the beast is grasping a globe with "COP30" inscribed across it, with human hands clutching the Earth. The jaguar is roaring, with massive fangs displayed, as its angered eyes stare at passersby.

In addition to governments committing millions to "climate research," the Global Risks Report demands immediate action to create a task force to grow the UN's capacity to address the threat that a free press presents to their agenda.

A panel of U.S. officials discusses how to subvert the Trump administration through local climate action.

Andrew Muller / *The New American*

In a video report, *The New American's* senior editor Alex Newman described the statue as an appropriate representation of the spiritual battle that freedom-loving Americans engage in against those who wish to enslave humanity through totalitarianism and globalism.

The day after the report was published, Publica, allegedly the first nonprofit investigative journalist agency founded by women in Brazil, published an article titled "Fast as fire: misinformation becomes political weapon over COP30 fire," which covered the fire that broke out at the conference on November 20. The publication participated in true disinformation by incorrectly quoting Newman, falsely claiming that he tied the fire to the statue gifted by China.

"'This is literally the official guardian spirit of the COP30 climate summit. It was a gift from the CCP regime to Brazil,' posted another profile [Newman] on X/Twitter, associating fire with the relationship with China," Publica reported. "'Fire in one of the COP30 pavilions in Belém-PA (20.11.2025). Would [the fire be a] "response" to the statue gifted by China in demonic format for COP30?' he wrote."

Newman never tied the fire to the demon statue and never uttered the latter quote, and the outlet completely misrepresented the report. Of course, Publica's reporting would not fall under the UN's definition of polluting the "information ecosystem," as the agency touts climate hysteria and is funded by George Soros' Open Society Foundations and the Ford Foundation.

Information Integrity Solidified in the Final Agreement

The COP30 agreement, the global Mutirão (a Portuguese word meaning "collective mobilization"), which all 194 attending governments consented to, includes language regarding the need to clean up the "information ecosystem," a first in COP history.

Dubbed by Brazilian president Lula da Silva the "COP of Truth," COP30 with its agreement solidifies the "fight against climate change by bringing science, equity and political determination together, promoting information integrity and strengthening multilateralism, connecting the process with people on the ground and accelerating the implementation of the Paris Agreement."

During COP30's closing remarks after the adoption of the final Mutirão, UNFCCC Executive Secretary Simon Stiell challenged climate alarmists to keep pressing forward despite the current "stormy political waters" of the United States under the leadership of President Trump. Disinformation, Stiell said, is keeping fossil fuels alive. "Disinformation actors are opportunistic…. A COP of Truth is fighting back."

The Solution

Catholic Archbishop Carlo Maria Viganò recently said in a viral message to the world, "A dangerous subversive elite has managed to infiltrate the highest levels of Western institutions and governments to implement a criminal global plan." That plan, he said, was the UN's Agenda 2030. Dissenters from the plan are attacked with censorship, intimidation, psychiatric abuse, and arrest, he continued. All Christians and people of goodwill must "raise their voices in defense of those persecuted by the globalist regime."

Censorship and narrative control should be completely rejected by all Americans. The Constitution, in the First Amendment, guarantees that Congress should make no law "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." In pressuring governments to censor climate realists, including many Americans, the UN is actively undermining American values and the U.S. Constitution — in addition to conspiring to usher in a one-world system of government.

The only lasting and viable solution lies in the halls of Congress. Representatives must reverse the unconstitutional United Nations Participation Act, which was enacted on December 20, 1945, by passing Representative Chip Roy's (R-Texas) and Senator Mike Lee's (R-Utah) DEFUND ACT to withdraw the United States from the UN. Freedom-loving patriots should settle for nothing less. ■

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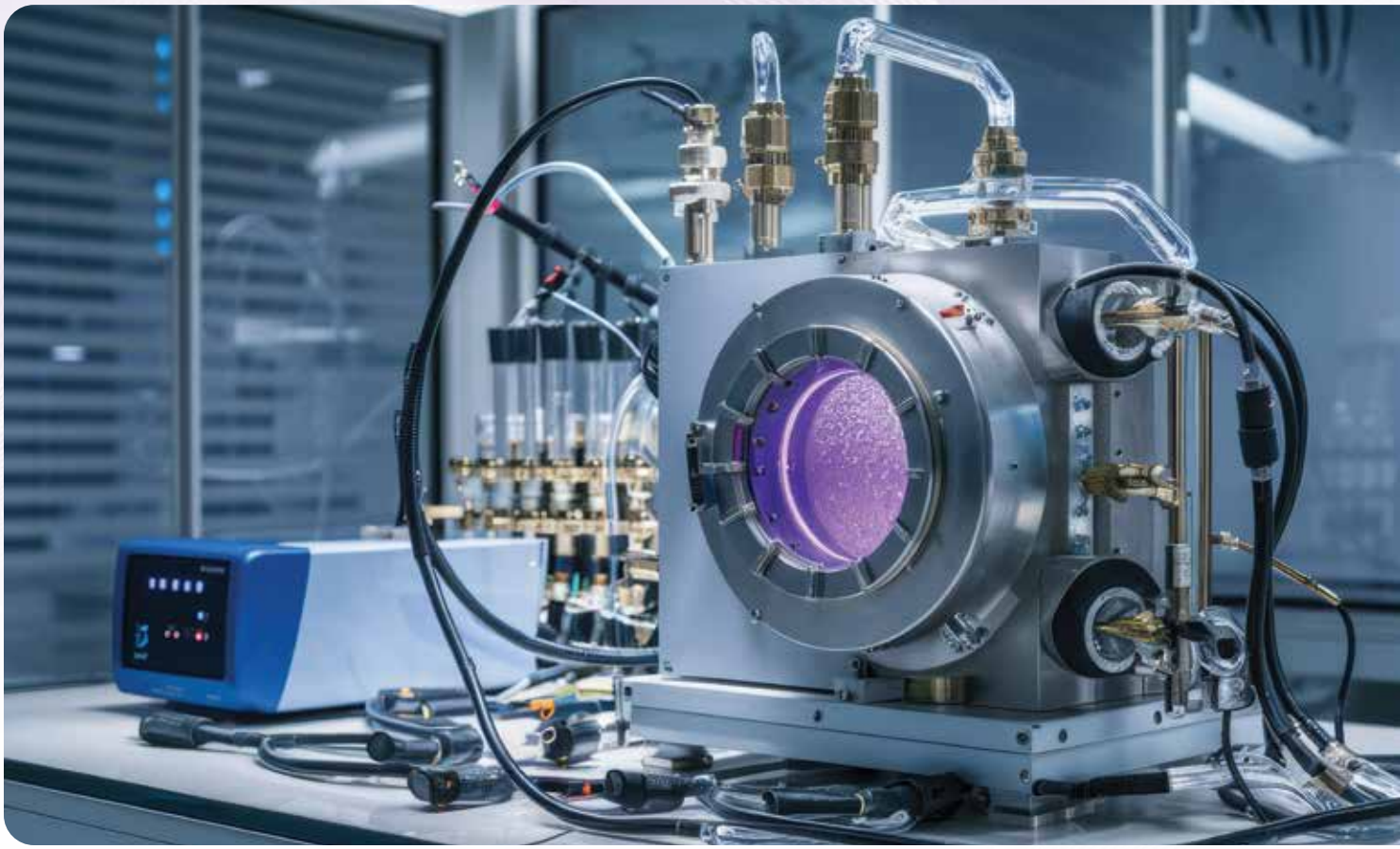

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Was "Cold Fusion" Prematurely Put on Ice?

AT A GLANCE

- According to conventional wisdom, cold fusion cannot achieve a net energy output — and previous attempts have failed.
- The late Dr. Melvin Miles said to his dying day that either cold fusion is real, or he is a liar.
- Miles began his cold-fusion experimentation as a skeptic, but ended up a true believer.
- If cold fusion is real, it would mean that energy resources would become virtually unlimited.

Jeff Lindsay is a U.S. patent agent and engineer who has worked in intellectual property leadership roles in Asia and the United States. He has a Ph.D. in chemical engineering from Brigham Young University.

by Jeff Lindsay

Dr. Melvin H. Miles, a scientist for the U.S. Navy and also my uncle, was given a challenging assignment on the day that the controversial discovery of "cold fusion" was announced: investigate that phenomenon and see if it might be real. What he found would gradually dissolve his skepticism — and damage his career.

Decades later, as my wife and I approached his home in St. George, Utah, we noticed a small placard that we had never seen anywhere else: "Cold Fusion Is Real." Two hours after we sat with him and asked about his years of research work for the U.S. Navy, we heard that phrase again. After summarizing his findings, he looked me in the eye and said with conviction, "Either cold fusion is real, or I'm a liar." From a good man noted for his frankness and honesty, this was a powerful statement.

That was the first of five interviews I had with him discussing cold fusion. My last visit was on October 7, 2025;

Martin Fleischmann (left) and Stanley Pons

AP Images

he passed away on October 20, 2025, at the age of 88. What he found and experienced may be important not just for the scientific, political, and business communities, but for anyone seeking a more abundant world where freedom and truth prevail.

While "mainstream" academia and media in the United States declared cold fusion to be dead, allegedly the fruit of incompetence or fraud from the two Utah scientists who reported it in 1989, there is compelling evidence that its obituary was premature. Cold fusion and related technologies may be warming up again.

First, I must explain that "cold fusion" is likely an incorrect term for the complex nuclear phenomena that Miles and others observed. A better term is "Low-Energy Nuclear Reactions" (LENR), in which low-energy neutrons enter and modify the nuclei of nearby atoms, perhaps according to what is called the "Widom-Larsen theory." (See the historical review by Steven B. Krivit in *Explorations in Nuclear Research, Vol. 1: Hacking the Atom*.) Nevertheless, I will use the term "cold fusion" because that is how it was described during the primary years of Miles' research, and it is the term he continued to use in our conversations, though he emphasized that the mechanism is still unclear.

At the time of our visit in early 2025, I did not yet know that Miles was viewed as a pillar of the LENR community, an international group that was largely spawned by the cold-fusion controversy more than 30 years ago and the desire to learn more about strange nuclear events that can happen outside of a high-energy nuclear reactor. I had not yet read his many papers, nor his fascinating autobiography on his cold-fusion research, available at LENR-CANR.org.

Quest for Truth

Miles' quest to understand the truth regarding cold fusion began just hours after a press release from the University of Utah on March 23, 1989:

> 'SIMPLE EXPERIMENT' RESULTS IN SUSTAINED N-FUSION AT ROOM TEMPERATURE FOR FIRST TIME
>
> SALT LAKE CITY — Two scientists have successfully created a sustained nuclear fusion reaction at room temperature in a chemistry laboratory at the University of Utah. The breakthrough means the world may someday rely on fusion for a clean virtually inexhaustible source of energy.

The announcement and the more detailed press conference that day featured the two key scientists, Stanley Pons and Martin Fleischmann. They discussed a novel process generating energy from heavy water, where deuterium (D), a heavy hydrogen isotope with one proton and one neutron, replaces normal hydrogen (H) in H_2O. In some unknown nuclear process, the interaction of the metal palladium with deuterium liberated from heavy water by electricity led to a surprising energy release that the scientists proposed might be from fusion of the deuterium atoms in or on the palladium. The energy released was greater than the electrical energy put into the system to split heavy water into oxygen and deuterium gases, giving "excess heat," a potential source of energy. If fusion could take place under such tame conditions, one might predict that mankind was on the verge of a vastly more abundant world due to low-cost energy.

The promise of that discovery has not yet been realized. In fact, interest in and funding for related work was decimated shortly after the announcement. The scientific establishment, government funding agencies, and popular media quickly and confidently denounced cold fusion as an irresponsible and embarrassing fiasco from two Utah scientists.

Miles would soon be in the thick of the controversy — first as a skeptic, and later as a "believer" after he found a way

The many physicists whose funding came from hot fusion or nuclear fission projects faced a threat of reduced funding and prestige if an inexpensive new technology from the "lowly" halls of chemistry suddenly upended their world.

to replicate the essence of what Pons and Fleischmann had seen. He would go even further by being the first to discover the production of helium-4 in a cold-fusion cell when excess heat was also being produced — a telltale sign that some type of nuclear process was involved. And he would continue publishing numerous noteworthy reports, including two papers in 2024 and 2025, while in his late 80s.

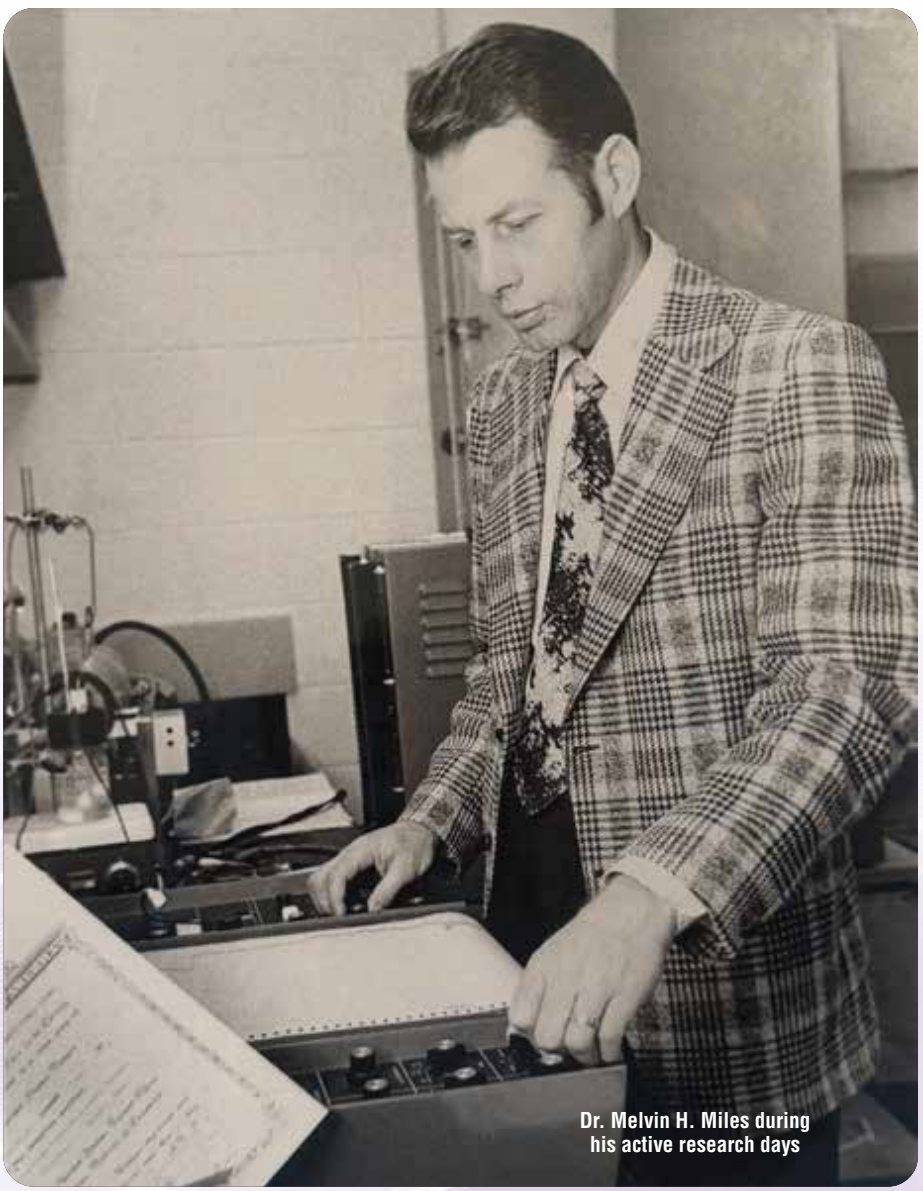
Miles received a B.S. in chemistry from Brigham Young University and a Ph.D. in physical chemistry from the University of Utah, where he studied under Dr. Henry Eyring, a renowned physical chemist.

When cold fusion was announced, he was working as a research electrochemist for the Naval Air Weapons Center at China Lake, California, where he had been working to improve thermal batteries used in missiles, along with other projects requiring his skills in physical chemistry and electrochemistry.

He learned of the cold-fusion press conference on the radio the next morning while driving to work. He also found a voicemail waiting for him from his department head, Geoff Lindsay (no relation). Geoff wanted him to look into cold fusion and see if it was real. If so, there could be many important military applications.

Miles jumped at the opportunity and came in the next day, a Saturday, on his own time to begin exploring the possibility of cold fusion. It would be the first of many weekends he sacrificed for cold fusion. He used palladium electrodes, heavy water, and other items already on hand. Thus would begin one of the most important and challenging aspects of his life. He would not have official funding for three years, but with the support of his supervisor, he initially pursued cold fusion "on the back burner." Unfortunately, his early experiments failed to replicate what Pons and Fleischmann reported. After months of exacting work, he published a paper indicating that he never saw any indication of excess heat being produced. He was a skeptic.

Many other scientists (but not all) who sought to replicate cold fusion also failed and became skeptics. A few weeks after the Utah announcement, a flock of physicists at the annual meeting of the American Institute of Physics went far beyond the bounds of science by not only declar-



Dr. Melvin H. Miles during his active research days

Photo courtesy of the Miles family

ing cold fusion a mistake, but also denouncing Pons and Fleischmann. While negative reports and articles proliferated and the scientific establishment turned on Pons and Fleischmann, Miles felt there must be more to understand, for the two were highly respected chemists.

Continuing his research, Miles suspected that the properties of the cathodes might be critical, so he tried an unusual source of palladium for a cathode. After his electrolytic cell ("electrolysis" is using electricity to split a molecule like water into components such as oxygen and hydrogen/deuterium) had run for a few days, excess heat suddenly began to be generated. He was still extremely cautious and would need to rule out potential sources of error, but he began to suspect that cold fusion might be real. He would later say that he "only gradually became convinced" by his own data.

The Problem

The problem with cold fusion in its early days was that it was very difficult to reproduce (it is still challenging today). It could take weeks for the reactions producing excess heat to initiate. Since the mechanism was not understood, it was impossible to know what needed to be controlled. It took months before Miles suspected that he needed the new palladium source and serendipitously received an ideal type low in oxygen. That was the key breakthrough. Two electrodes cut from one new palladium rod would give excess heat time after time. But other new cathodes from the same vendor might fail consistently. Other important factors would include contaminants in the system, the loading of deuterium into palladium, the applied current, and even humidity in the lab. Cold fusion is complex, making failure easy.

Is Cold Fusion in Our Energy Future?

1000pixels / iStock / Getty Images Plus

Over millennia, scientists may have learned a lot about the physical world we live in, but they have not learned everything — far from it. And sometimes they are forced to revise what they once believed to be absolutely true, based on additional observation and evidence.

Such was the case with Newton's laws. They were once considered immutable and universal, but we later learned that those laws break down at the subatomic level, leading to quantum mechanics to explain what scientists observe at that level, as well as at very high speeds and in strong gravitational pulls, leading to Einstein's theory of relativity.

Einstein did much to modernize physics, but he was not always right. He was wrong in once believing that the energy of the atom could not be released. Even after the neutron — the subatomic particle that's used to split the atom — was discovered in 1932, Einstein said, "There is not the slightest indication that [nuclear] energy will ever be obtainable. It would mean that the atom would have to be shattered at will." Years later, as we know, the atom was "shattered at will."

Until now, nuclear power has been generated via fission — splitting the nuclei of heavy elements. But how about fusion — combining the nuclei of light elements? Could that also be done to generate electrical power? If yes, the energy potential would become virtually limitless, for the simple reason that there is a vastly larger supply of fusionable elements in the world than fissionable elements.

Could it be done on a commercial level? The current scientific "consensus" is no, because of the energy required to bring about a sustained fusion reaction. But will science one day learn otherwise? At *The New American*, we simply do not know. After all, we are not a scientific journal. However, we are intrigued by the idea of what a process commonly called "cold fusion" could accomplish if it were practically achievable. And we do know this: Science should be determined by the scientific method, even when the scientists exploring and testing new ideas are going against the consensus (whether real or presumed) of the day. Also, government should not be subsidizing particular energy alternatives (fusion, fission, fossil fuels, wind, solar, etc.), but should get out of the way and allow innovators to innovate and the market to decide.

And it is in this spirit that we are publishing this fascinating article by Jeff Lindsay about his late uncle's decades-long pursuit of cold fusion, beginning his research as a skeptic and ending up a true believer based on the results he was able to achieve. Time will tell where additional research will lead.

— The Editors

A world of abundant clean energy might be a radical paradigm shift for many. But if the real goal is simply a cleaner, safer world, and if water could be the source of virtually unlimited low-cost and clean energy, should we not vigorously seek to understand the unusual principles behind LENR to open such doors in the future?

Pons and Fleischmann knew about the complexity. These two internationally recognized chemists, both experts in electrochemistry at the top of their field, had been working secretly at the University of Utah since 1984 on their highly speculative project. Based on others observing puzzling phenomena involving palladium and hydrogen, they wondered if densely packed deuterium in palladium might be driven to achieve a form of nuclear fusion in an electrochemical cell. Many of their trials showed nothing of interest. But after years of work, they began to have enough success that they dared to consider publishing their results, though there was still much to learn.

Their visionary experiment used heavy water that was made electrically conductive with the addition of a lithium salt. The applied current in the cell drove a reaction that caused the heavy water to split into deuterium gas on the palladium cathode and oxygen gas on the platinum anode. They monitored the electrical energy going into the cell and the energy that the cell released to its environment. Normally the energy in should equal the energy out, but sometimes they found anomalies in which significant excess heat was created that could not be explained by normal chemical processes. They believed that the only way to explain this was if there were some unknown nuclear reaction taking place.

The challenges in reliably reproducing and understanding cold fusion were not the only trouble they faced. A physics professor at Brigham Young University (BYU) in nearby Provo, Utah, Steven Jones, learned of their work as a reviewer selected by the Department of Energy to confidentially review a proposal from Pons and Fleischmann for funding. Jones saw their work as related to his own experiments in which he believed that subatomic particles might catalyze the release of neutrons in metal when immersed in heavy water, indicative of a nuclear reaction. While he did not believe that excess heat could be generated and quickly became a sharp critic, at the time he saw value in collaboration.

As detailed by Eugene F. Mallove in *Fire From Ice* (1991), after Jones reached out to Pons and Fleischmann, the University of Utah saw Jones as a threat seeking to claim credit for cold fusion, putting potential patents and revenues at risk. University attorneys pressed for a quick press conference to reduce the risk of BYU edging into their territory, but this meant the University of Utah professors could not share detailed information before related patents were filed. This led to charges of doing "science by press conference" and being unethical for not freely sharing details. The awkward circumstances of a premature announcement created lasting trouble for the scientists.

Things got worse when other scientists, unimpressed by the seemingly questionable press conference, concluded that Pons and Fleischmann were contradicting science. Thirty-nine days after the announcement that shocked the world, chemistry Professor Nathan Lewis of the California Institute of Technology presented negative results from brief experimental work at a Baltimore meeting of the American Institute of Physics (AIP) at the beginning of May 1989. Lewis and others strongly condemned Pons and Fleischmann. Jones also helped lead the charge, calling for a vote from an elite panel to express disbelief in the claims of Pons and Fleischmann, as if science were determined by voting and not by the scientific method.

With the attack on the two chemists by America's lofty physicists at the AIP meeting and vitriolic press conferences there, the Baltimore event was a turning point that many thought meant the death of cold fusion. Scientific journals and the popular press accepted their accusations and heaped more criticism upon the beleaguered chemists. The two eventually left the United States, finding no hope for their careers there.

Meanwhile, a panel composed almost entirely of skeptics was assembled in April 1989 by the Department of Energy (DOE) under the Energy Research Advisory Board. They were asked to issue a report on the cold-fusion controversy. The panel moved quickly, and by November 1989 they had published a statement declaring that they could find no evidence that cold fusion was of any significance. They cited Miles' initial paper on cold fusion to support that conclusion, but made no mention of his later findings that showed excess heat had been found when a different palladium source was used. The panel managed to complete their work without visiting labs with positive results, including those of Pons, Fleischmann, and Miles. To Miles, this didn't look like science or a good-faith effort to understand the phenomenon. Something else had to be going on.

Why the Rush to Reject Cold Fusion?

I asked Miles what motivated so many to reject cold fusion so quickly. With his typical cautious approach, he said he didn't know for sure, but could offer some possible reasons. These can essentially be summarized as conflicts of interest.

The many physicists whose funding came from hot fusion or nuclear fission projects faced a threat of reduced funding and prestige if an inexpensive new technology from the "lowly" halls of chemistry suddenly upended their world. This might explain much of the opposition of the physics community. In "Dr. Mel Miles' Autobiography for His Cold Fusion Research," written with the help of Tom Grimshaw and Ruby Carat in 2022 as part of the LENR Research Documentation Initiative, Miles said the following about the 1990 International Conference on Cold Fusion in Salt Lake City:

Martin Fleischmann explains his fusion experiment to members of the House Energy Research and Development Subcommittee.

AP Images

That was … the strangest scientific conference I ever went to. Critics were trying to influence the press that was there, by using terms you'd never use in a scientific conference, things that related to ridicule after a speaker spoke….

We had about a 50/50 mixture of people who had positive results and critics that came to ridicule. We had hot fusion people from MIT that wanted to shoot down the cold fusion idea…. And anytime anybody had a positive talk, one of these negative people would jump up and they would just make statements of ridicule….

A lot of press was there, and they were just playing to the press. I've never seen a scientific meeting where a person gives a positive talk, and then somebody jumps up and tries to use ridicule, and ridicule would be the right word…. I began to realize that it was hot fusion people trying to protect their interests….

Their whole careers are based on getting government money year after year on this never-fulfilling promise of useful energy from hot fusion. Government funding sustained their careers, so they have to continue receiving it. Of course, they would fight against cold fusion getting accepted. Maybe I'd do the same, but I don't think so. An honest person would not do the same thing. But if you were dishonest and just interested in your career and not actual correct science, then you would tend to be that way. I don't blame them, but that's not scientific.

Just how far can conflicts of interest go in derailing science and a potentially monumental breakthrough? Dr. Eugene Mallove, an MIT graduate, the chief science writer at MIT's news office, and author of the aforementioned *Fire From Ice*, resigned in 1991 over MIT's alleged censorship and apparently fraudulent doctoring of its cold-fusion data from MIT's Plasma Science and Fusion Center, a leading center of hot-fusion work. After seeing the initial draft of MIT's paper on their cold-fusion testing, he noticed a major discrepancy in the published paper. Heat-output data from a cell with heavy water had been shifted down, unlike the data from a cell with ordinary water. This turned what might have been a positive confirmation of excess heat into a negative result. Details of the adjustment and Mallove's efforts to have MIT correct its error — which went all the way to President Charles Vest — were published in in 1999 Mallove's "MIT and Cold Fusion: A Special Report." MIT's negative report with its doctored data led to newspaper headlines such as "MIT Bombshell Knocks Fusion 'Breakthrough' Cold" (*Boston Herald*, May 1, 1989) and helped convince the scientific community that cold fusion was "pathological science." Perhaps the world of nuclear science might have been a much different place today had MIT acknowledged the possibility of an excess heat effect.

Threatened universities are not the only ones with potential conflicts. A large part of the budget for DOE's non-defense research at the time was for hot fusion and conventional fission. Further, officers in DOE often have ties to other industries that might be threatened by cold fusion, such as the oil and coal industries, also the recipients of major portions of DOE funding. We don't know, but it's possible that fossil-fuel producers were op-

Miles could affirm that "Cold Fusion Is Real" (perhaps better stated as "LENR Is Real") and needs to be pursued in order to advance scientific knowledge and, maybe, benefit mankind.

posed to DOE support for cold-fusion work. The self-interest of many bureaucrats and their influencers might have been aligned in vigorously suppressing interest in cold fusion.

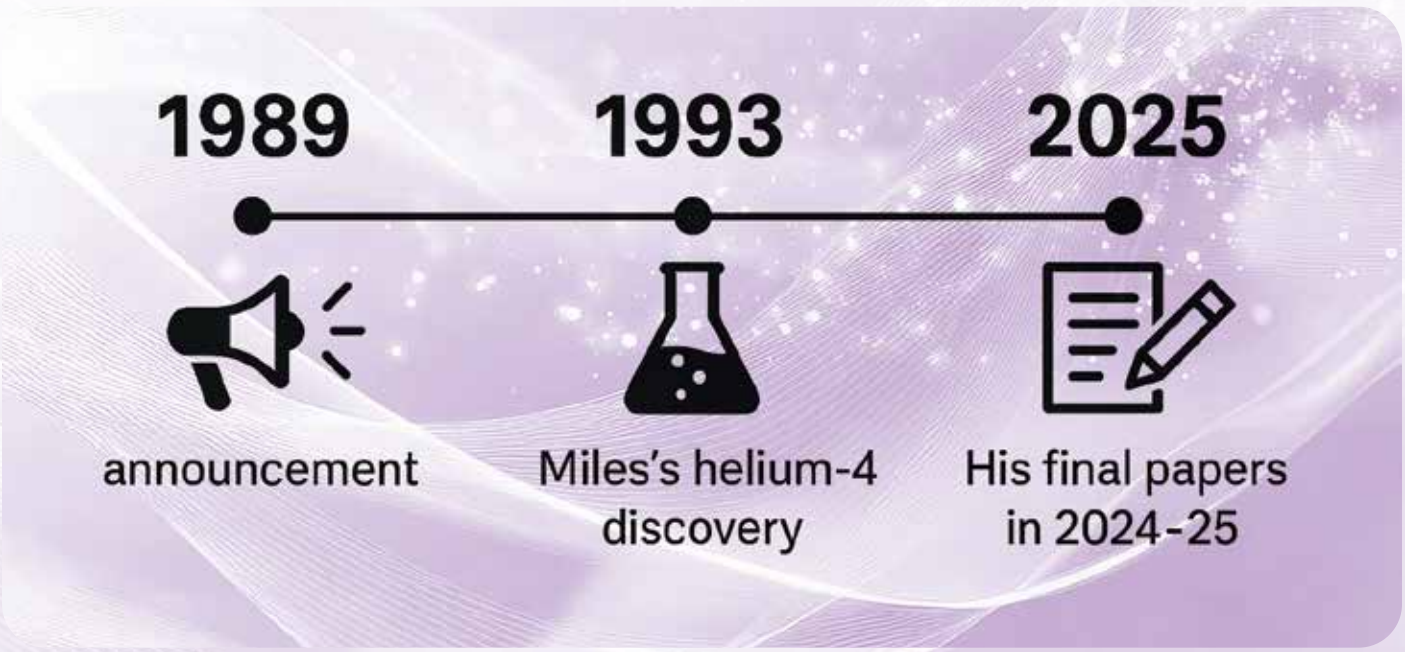
Given the various conflicts of interest affecting the DOE panel, the negative outcome may have been foreordained. Indeed, the panelists acted as if they really were not interested in the matter, according to Charles G. Beaudette in *Excess Heat: Why Cold Fusion Research Prevailed*. Rather than investigating the possibility that Pons and Fleischmann might have uncovered a new nuclear-energy mechanism in need of research, they relied on circular reasoning to simply dismiss the issue: "It would require the invention of an entirely new nuclear process" to have excess heat from fusion without intense neutron radiation, and thus there was "no convincing evidence for useful sources [of energy]" from cold fusion. If the mechanism doesn't fit the old paradigm, it must not be real.

Their final report listed the Naval Air Weapons Center as one of the sources of negative reports for cold fusion, based on the initial negative report from Miles. But after Miles contacted his liaison to the DOE panel in September 1989 to indicate that he had found apparent positive results, no interest was shown. Indeed, the panel might have been correct when they wrote in November 1989 that they could find no evidence for cold fusion, for you cannot find anything when you won't look.

Apart from academics opposing cold fusion based on the fear of reduced funding or prestige, Miles felt that some vocal critics might have been trying to enhance their career by being "heroes" on a quest to save science from dangerous "bad science." Science writers and other journalists seeking to accuse Pons and Fleischmann and other "believers" of fraud might fall into this category. Currying favor from government by supporting certain agendas can also happen naturally. In any case, it's easy to see that the character assassination of cold-fusion proponents and the rush to condemn the field without carefully considering the positive results were driven by something other than the scientific method.

Even those without obvious conflicts of interest could be caught in the common human trap of rejecting new paradigms. For example, if real fusion, as physicists understood it, had created the excess heat reported by Pons and Fleischmann, there would have been intense radiation that could have killed the professors. Since harmful radiation was not experienced or measured, then clearly no *known* nuclear process could explain their results. Of course, that was the point Pons and Fleischmann were trying to make: Some *new principle* must be at play, and must be investigated further. But since the results did not fit the established paradigm for nuclear reactions, many scientists rejected them.

The onslaught wasn't just from nuclear scientists and the DOE. Multiple books on cold fusion decried it, such as science writer Gary Taubes' 1993 work *Bad Science: The Short Life and Weird Times of Cold Fusion*. Decades later, Taubes' book continued to be praised in spite of neglecting positive developments and presenting an improbable conspiracy theory to explain some positive results as the secret fraud of a graduate student who must have



There are new paradigms in nuclear science waiting to be better understood that may lead to many future advances, including the possibility of abundant, clean, low-cost energy that can lift millions from poverty and make the world better for all.

slyly infiltrated multiple labs. Numerous negative articles in journals such as *Nature*, a leading scientific publication, and news outlets such as *The New York Times* decried the poor science of cold fusion. In fact, *Nature* has a policy against publishing positive cold-fusion work, and other academic journals have attitudes making it exceptionally difficult to publish. In my profession, the American Institute of Chemical Engineers maligned cold fusion in its publication *Chemical Engineering Progress*. With so much opposition and so little attention to ongoing positive results, the mainstream scientific community in the United States has largely remained where it was in 1989-1990, believing that cold fusion/LENR was all a mistake without any real scientific support.

A different source of pushback might have been from the environmental movement. For example, Stanford biologist Paul Ehrlich, famed author of the Malthusian classic *The Population Bomb* (1968), warned that abundant, cheap power from cold fusion would be "like giving a machine gun to an idiot child," while the highly influential activist and author Jeremy Rifkin said, "It's the worst thing that could happen to our planet." Their paradigm for a better world seems to be focused on getting humans to consume less, reduce their population, and use less energy, making a cleaner world of great abundance something to be dreaded, unfortunately. Was DOE influenced by the environmental agenda to reduce energy use per se, even if it is genuinely clean energy?

A world of abundant clean energy might be a radical paradigm shift for many. But if the real goal is simply a cleaner, safer world, and if water could be the source of virtually unlimited low-cost and clean energy, should we not vigorously seek to understand the unusual principles behind LENR to open such doors in the future?

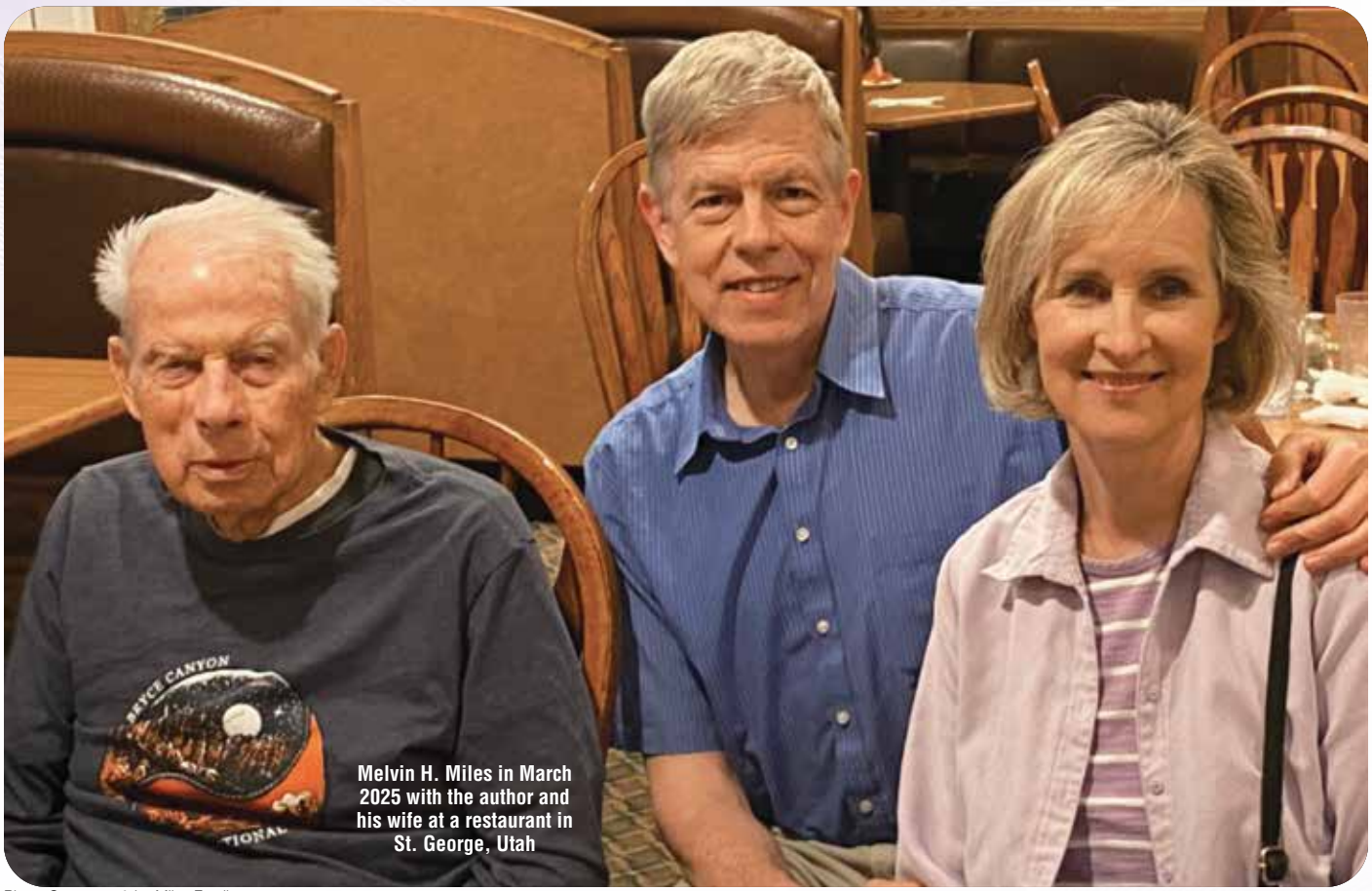
ChatGPT

Miles Presses Forward

In spite of so many voices suddenly attacking cold fusion, Miles was undeterred and continued seeking to understand it, though pressure from the top would cause trauma to his career.

Miles was concerned that many of the voices condemning the cold-fusion work were not refuting the finding of excess heat production, but were simply repeating the mantra that those results did not fit what they knew of nuclear science, when the real issue was whether or not something new had been discovered. It is true that Pons and Fleischmann did make some errors, such as misreading a gamma ray detector that they believed showed radiation coming from cold fusion. That error, a relatively minor one that was not foundational to their work, exacerbated the damage to their reputations, but no clear error in their calorimetry work was ever demonstrated.

Miles' tenacious work led to equipment and methods that could accurately track the energy in and out of a calorimetry cell. Then came the breakthrough when he obtained a higher-quality palladium rod. From then on, he would achieve excess heat with every cathode made from that source. (Those cathodes, sadly, would be destroyed to measure internal helium by a newly hired researcher who did not realize how unusual and precious they were, causing a lengthy delay in Miles' progress until Fleischmann gave him a similar cathode.) Miles had become a "cold fusion believer," the pejorative used by skeptics. In one especially convincing test, the power went out while excess heat was being produced. When the power came back on, there was no excess heat, for the deuterium in the palladium had largely escaped. After enough time for reloading with deuterium released at the cathode, the reaction started again, again giving excess heat. In his cold-fusion autobiography, Miles noted that this was a good sign of a real effect taking place.



Melvin H. Miles in March 2025 with the author and his wife at a restaurant in St. George, Utah

Photo Courtesy of the Miles Family

Miles next pursued a difficult project with Ben Bush, a post-doctoral scientist at China Lake, and others that resulted in successful measurements of helium-4 production during times of excess heat generation. Published in 1993, this careful work is a compelling witness to the reality of nuclear reactions occurring, but without high-energy neutrons being released. The "aneutronic" nature of most LENR reactions is great news, for it means that LENR reactors have the potential to produce energy without releasing dangerous levels of radioactivity that would require extensive shielding. It means small, portable devices might be possible, or larger devices without great expense and weight.

Miles would publish more than 100 papers in his ongoing work, including papers written well after retirement. His work is an important part of a significant body of papers confirming that many related LENR phenomena exist and that the possibility of excess heat in electrolytic cells is real. A small portion of the work from around the world supporting the reality of cold fusion is documented up to 1991 in Mallove's *Fire From Ice*, and more is documented up to 2001 in Beaudette's *Excess Heat*. This includes work from a variety of universities and labs in the United States, India, Japan, France, and elsewhere. Many more-recent reports are available or listed at sites such as LENR-CANR.org and the LENR Reference Site at NewEnergyTimes.com.

Tragically, the numerous confirmations, including many by Miles, are largely unknown to the mainstream technical community in the United States.

After publishing his discoveries that showed cold fusion might be real, Miles was criticized by an officer in the funding office for the Navy as having "brought shame" upon the Navy by being pro-cold fusion. His reply is characteristic of his straightforward nature: "I am not being pro- or anti-anything. I'm just reporting my results." But he had fallen out of favor, and now could not get funding. He was assigned to do menial labor in the stockroom for the labs at China Lake — a traditional government way of getting people to leave. Science had been politicized, but Miles would not play politics.

Miles left China Lake and taught at universities for several years. Later, he continued some cold-fusion related work back at China Lake as a contractor. He stayed active in the cold-fusion/LENR community until his death, hoping that the world might awaken to the breakthroughs in knowledge that cold fusion has launched and to the potential benefits that LENR might bring. He was still sharp, though weary, and willing to discuss many aspects of cold fusion as of October 7, 2025, when I had my last interview with him.

One of Miles' most useful papers, in my opinion, was published in 2024 with Steven B. Krivit. In "Confirmation of Anomalous-Heat Report," Miles and Krivit examine the long-overlooked and never-published analysis from Nathan Lewis of the California Institute of Technology, who had railed against Pons and Fleischmann's work at the fateful Baltimore meeting of physicists on May 1, 1989. Lewis had obtained data from Pons and Fleischmann for nine of their calorimetry runs. When he ana-

Using water as a primary fuel source, cold fusion offers unlimited energy potential.

Mat Hayward / iStock / Getty Images Plus

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lyzed their data, he claimed that no excess heat had been generated, and that in fact the excess heat value should have been reported as negative, meaning heat was being lost somehow. It is ironic that these negative results were never submitted for peer review, as Lewis' attack against Pons and Fleischmann included their failure to have a peer-reviewed paper ready before going public. The paper by Krivit and Miles features detective work showing where Lewis erred in his analysis, and indicates that Pons and Fleischmann did not have a mysterious heat loss but, in fact, saw positive excess heat in each of the nine runs that Lewis attacked. Some of the sound and fury of Lewis in lambasting cold fusion has now been muted, but decades too late, unfortunately. Miles told me he sent this paper and others of his to Lewis, but had no response. I still would welcome any response, especially if Krivit and Miles misunderstood something that would change their conclusions.

In some of his final words to me, Miles asked me to tell others to pay great attention to details in their cold-fusion work, including unusual phenomena they might encounter. He also reminded me that cold fusion is far more complicated than many people assume. Researchers and corporations need to be prepared for a long journey requiring constant attention to details and a great deal of exploration to find the conditions needed to bring the potential of LENR closer to practical value. But without doubt, Miles could affirm that "Cold Fusion Is Real" (perhaps better stated as "LENR Is Real") and needs to be pursued in order to advance scientific knowledge and, maybe, benefit mankind.

Conclusion

I am proud to be the nephew of Dr. Melvin H. Miles, an important figure in advancing LENR who put his career on the line to publish unpopular scientific findings. His curiosity, open-mindedness, attention to detail, and tenacity in seeking the truth in spite of painful opposition made him an example of a man of integrity who loves and advances science.

I hope that his legacy of work related to cold fusion will be helpful to others in advancing the world of LENR. However, I suspect that no amount of data from LENR researchers will turn the tide of bias until commercialized LENR devices are on the market for all to test and use. When this happens, likely long before fusion begins to approach commercialization — Miles believed that may be within a handful of years — that new era may be a source of great embarrassment for the naysayers, but rejoicing for the rest of us.

There are new paradigms in nuclear science waiting to be better understood that may lead to many future advances, including the possibility of abundant, clean, low-cost energy that can lift millions from poverty and make the world better for all. We must return to the basic understanding that good experiments are tools to judge our paradigms, not the other way around. Conflicts of interest must also be recognized and countered.

We need more courageous explorers of new fields who can open great doors of knowledge, and we need environments free of censorship to allow the science to move forward. ■

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"This is a republic, not a democracy — Let's keep it that way!"

QUICK QUOTES

"SEDITIOUS BEHAVIOR, punishable by DEATH!"
President **Donald Trump** *posted this on Truth Social, responding to Democrats who urged military personnel to disobey potentially unlawful orders during immigration raids and shutdown disputes.*

"The president of the United States just called for members of Congress to be executed. If you are a person of influence in this country, maybe it's time to pick a [expletive] side."
Senator **Chris Murphy** *(D-Conn.) reacted to Trump's accusations of sedition against members of his party.*

"The U.S. is in danger of becoming a banana republic."
Former Treasury Secretary **Janet Yellen** *issued her warning about Trump's economic policies during a recent Bloomberg interview.*

"We're dreaming of an AI revolution, but we forgot the power cord. Trump's Project Genesis wants to supercharge American AI, yet our grid can't even handle what we've got. America needs at least 50% more electricity just for industrial expansion. Add data centers, and that figure climbs to 75-100%. The U.S. lacks long-haul transmission, and renewables don't run around the clock. That leaves coal and nuclear as the realistic foundation for this level of growth."
Political strategist **Peter Zeihan** *posted this message on X.*

"Rare earths are likely to remain at the center of future Sino-US economic negotiations despite the tentative agreements thus far. China has demonstrated its willingness to use more trade levers to keep the United States at the negotiating table. The turbulence has created a challenging environment for producers that rely on various rare earth metals, as near-term supply is uncertain."
During an interview with AFP News, **Heron Lim**, *economics lecturer at ESSEC Business School, revealed China's upper hand in the battle for rare earths.*

"Strong load growth from new data centers and other large industrial end users is driving higher winter electricity demand forecasts and contributing to continued risk of supply shortfalls."
North American Electric Reliability Corporation *wrote this of wind-power-heavy Texas in a recently published analysis.*

"Wala na talaga akong trust sa government natin." ("I really have no trust in our government anymore.")
Social-media influencer and Miss Universe 2018 **Catriona Gray** *broadcast her critique of the Filipino government on Instagram in November.*

— Compiled by Rebecca Terrell

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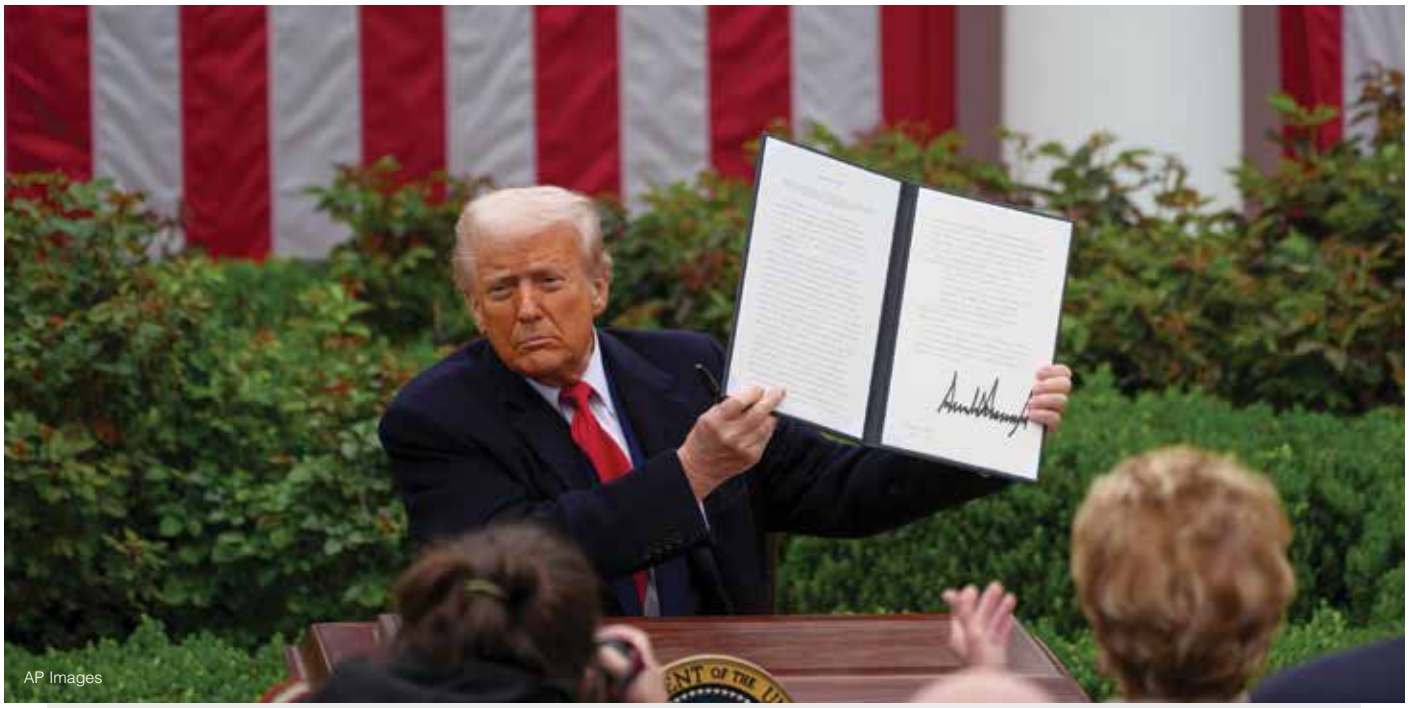

AP Images

EVALUATING TRUMP'S TARIFFS

AT A GLANCE

- We are now able to evaluate Trump's tariffs.
- Trump's tariffs performed well as a tax swap.
- They were moderately effective at opening foreign markets.
- From a constitutional standpoint, they were a failure.

by Robert P. Murphy

If Donald Trump's goal is to "Make America Great Again," one of his signature means is the use of tariffs. Besides their possible role in restoring U.S. manufacturing jobs while raising money from foreigners, tariffs are very "Trumpian" because they enrage the Republican Establishment and D.C. think tanks. No wonder the president said, "'Tariffs' is the most beautiful word to me in the dictionary."

Acting on his affection, Trump's second administration shocked global markets with the April 2 "Liberation Day" announcement of across-the-board tariff hikes imposed on virtually all countries, with a baseline 10-percent rate supplemented by a "reciprocal" tariff rate tailored to each individual country. Since then, Americans have held vigorous debate on both the theory and execution of Trump's tariffs, including oral arguments before the Supreme Court. As we near the end of the first year of Trump's second term, we can take stock of the president's unorthodox policy.

Academic Justification

Contrary to the smug claims of his harshest critics, Trump's reliance on tariffs is *not* due merely to ignorance of the teachings of economics. Indeed, the original chair of Trump's Council of Economic Advisers (who took leave to become a replacement member on the Board of Governors at the Fed), Stephen Miran, has a Ph.D. in economics from Harvard. In November 2024, from his perch as a senior strategist at Hudson Bay Capital, Miran published a 41-page report titled "A User's Guide to Restructuring the Global Trading System."

Among other arguments, Miran pointed out that when the United States imposes a tariff, that will deter Americans from buying so many imports, which will (other things being equal) lead to a strengthening of the U.S. dollar against other currencies. Consequently, the price impact of the tariff will be partially muted, because a stronger dollar means foreign goods appear cheaper to Americans. In the grand scheme, Miran was arguing that — within

Robert P. Murphy is a senior fellow with the Mises Institute and chief economist at infineo. He is the author of numerous economics books for a lay audience, including Understanding Money Mechanics.

Trump's reliance on tariffs is not necessarily as foolish as his harshest critics maintain, but in practice his results have been mixed at best.

limits — a hike in tariff rates would raise revenue for the Treasury without Americans bearing the full brunt of the levy. (In this respect, Trump's libertarian critics — some of whom are my colleagues — who kept warning Americans that "tariffs are paid for by consumers" were not being completely candid.)

In fact, as Miran also pointed out, there is an entire strand of literature in the economics journals devoted to the notion of an "optimal tariff rate," with estimates that for the United States it might be as high as 20 percent. So, especially if new tariff revenue were devoted to cutting more distortionary taxes, *and* if the tax measures were coupled with smart deregulation of American business, then Miran thought the incoming Trump administration could be poised to invigorate America's manufacturing sector while preserving the dollar as the global reserve currency.

Now, to be fair, *Trump himself* never makes such nuanced statements during his rallies. Rather, he talks about the U.S. trade deficit as if it's analogous to a corporation suffering a loss. On this score, the critics are right: Trump does in fact sound like a crude mercantilist whose ideas were exploded by Adam Smith in 1776. (On the narrow accounting point: If anything, a trade deficit is akin to a corporation spending more than it receives in revenue, which doesn't necessarily mean it suffered a loss. For example, if the corporation has floated bonds to build a new factory, that isn't a sign of financial weakness; it might be a great move to expand capacity for the future.)

In any event, the hope from some of us early on was that Trump would rely on his advisors to use sound economics when crafting the specific implementation of his populist economic agenda. In the rest of this article, we assess his performance according to several criteria.

Tax Swap: Grade A (so far)

There is no doubt that the second Trump administration has jacked up tariffs — according to Yale's Budget Lab, American average effective tariff rates as of August 7 were 18.6 percent, which is the highest since 1933. (Readers may remember the famous Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 — discussed in monotonous fashion by Ben Stein in *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* — which many economists believe contributed to the severity of the initial contraction in the Great Depression.) In a static analysis (i.e., ignoring the impact on other revenue sources), the Yale team estimated that Trump's tariffs would bring in $2.7 trillion in revenue over a 10-year period.

On the other hand, the One Big Beautiful Bill Act made the first Trump administration's income tax cuts permanent, which — relative to the baseline in which the tax cuts would expire — had a cost to the budget of $3.7 trillion over 10 years.

Now, to be sure, I would feel much better about the whole thing if Trump had garnered support for DOGE and pushed for massive *spending* cuts, so that the Big Beautiful Bill didn't plunge the federal government into an even deeper hole. (This is why Representative Thomas Massie and Senator Rand Paul, both Kentucky Republicans, would not support the bill, much to Trump's chagrin.) Yet on the narrow question of a tax swap, I think we can give Trump and his supporters in Congress an "A": Relative to what the default would have been in the absence of action, they effectively cut income taxes by a massive amount, but cushioned the blow to the Treasury by partially replacing

AP Images

them with new tariff receipts. *If* you are going to impose large new tariffs, it's best to match them with even larger income tax cuts, which is just what Trump & Co. did in 2025.

Having said that, this award of an "A" can only be provisional, because the president himself in recent months has repeatedly floated the idea that the tariff revenue might be directly rebated to Americans — with a specific proposal of a $2,000 dividend check per qualifying recipient. If this comes to pass, then we would have to take away the high marks granted above on the "Tax Swap" criterion; you obviously can't justify the imposition of tariffs as a lesser of two evils, needed to reduce income taxes, if you don't then use the revenue to offset income tax cuts. And although in general I myself am sympathetic to *any* tax rebate on moral grounds — "it's our money!" — in that case, *not* imposing the tariffs in the first place would have been cleaner and more ethical.

Italian pasta faces a potential 107-percent tariff.
AP Images

Opening Up Foreign Markets: Grade C

Free-market economist supporters of Trump, including Stephen Moore and Larry Kudlow, have argued that aggressive tariff hikes are not a throwback to fallacious mercantilist policies. Instead, they claim, Trump is simply engaging in the "art of the deal." By coming on strong, Trump — as head of the world's largest economy — can then bargain down toward the free-trade position, so long as his foreign counterpart does the same. In this way, so the argument goes, Trump eventually will achieve at least a level playing field, if not outright unfettered trade, with those countries who are sensible enough to play ball.

Even on its own terms, this is a very risky strategy, and it doesn't fit with the other rationales for Trump's tariffs. (For example, if the shockingly high tariffs are merely a temporary gambit to achieve bargaining leverage, then how will they serve to "pay for" income tax cuts, or to steer demand to U.S. producers, once they are whittled away?) In any event, these free-trader apologists for Trump should be clearer with what they say is happening: According to their defense, Trump is effectively acting as a bank robber who passes a note to the teller announcing he is strapped with dynamite and so she'd better empty out her till. Now maybe that strategy will pay off once or twice, but it hardly constitutes an effective approach to making money.

As of this writing, this particular justification has not panned out. As itemized in a September 16 report from the Congressional Research Service, there have been significant *retaliatory* tariffs against the United States levied by China, Canada, and the EU. Subsequent negotiations have ratcheted down the punitive countermeasures, but they have largely deferred the threats pending further discussions. There has been little achieved in the goal of reducing a particular country's tariffs against the United States *relative to what they were back in December 2024*, before Trump reclaimed his spot in the White House.

To get a comprehensive and unbiased assessment of the long-term impact of Trump's brazen negotiating style, I am waiting for the release of the 2026 edition of the World Trade Organization's global profile. *That* edition will contain the data as of the end of 2025, which in turn can be contrasted with the 2025 edition's summary of global tariffs as of the end of 2024. This will be the fairest measure — when the calculations are done with the same comprehensive methodology, rather than looking at anecdotal episodes of one-off retaliations — to assess the overall impact of Trump's strategy in reducing foreign barriers to U.S. exports.

If I had to guess, I don't think the Trump team will broker through deals that make barriers to U.S. goods lower than what they were *before* the Liberation Day surprise. This is why I give a "C" on this metric.

Constitutional and Procedural Coherence: Grade D-

Finally, we come to the *manner* in which Trump has implemented his tariffs. On this score, his approach has been a disaster. Most important, tariffs are taxes, and as such should be introduced by Congress. Trump's unconstitutional overreach was the basis for legal challenges to the tariffs, and in May the U.S. Court of International Trade ruled against the administration, a decision that was upheld by a U.S. Court of Appeals in August. In early November the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on the dispute, with no decision as of this writing.

Precisely because the power to tax is reserved to Congress, the Liberation Day tariff schedule had to be implemented

Australia and the United States sign an agreement on critical minerals and rare earths AP Images

via an executive order, which ostensibly derived its authority from the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), enacted way back in 1977.

Now if you go and read the IEEPA, you'll see that it gives the president the power to, say, freeze the bank accounts of suspected enemy sleeper cells in the United States, to hamper their ability to cause havoc from within while the United States is being attacked by a foreign army. Clearly the people who wrote and passed the IEEPA weren't thinking "trade deficits" when pondering the various emergencies that might threaten the country. As lawyers for the plaintiffs (including some businesses who had standing because they had to pay higher tariffs) argued to the Supreme Court, the word "tariff" isn't even in the IEEPA. Furthermore, they point out that *of course* the Founders were thinking of tariffs when they reserved the power of the purse to the legislature. As Trump himself likes to remind audiences, in the early history of the Republic, tariffs were the primary source of revenue for the federal government.

Furthermore, even if we assume for the sake of argument that trade deficits really do pose a national emergency that can't wait for congressional action, Trump at times is guided by petty motivations rather than facing down the claimed threat. For an example that Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor referenced, during his standoff with Canada, Trump explained that he had increased the tariff on Canadian exports by 10 percentage points as punishment for the Ontario provincial government running a TV ad in which Ronald Reagan says tariffs "hurt every American." Now it's true, the ad *was* misleading; it failed to mention that in the same address Reagan explained why he was imposing new duties on Japanese imports. But the point is, Trump is now claiming the power to hike taxes in response to a foreign commercial.

Of course, the real world is always complicated, and the Trump administration's lawyers put up a fight. They argued that the tariffs were not intended as revenue-raising measures (and hence shouldn't be construed as "raising taxes"), but this is difficult to square with the White House's boasting of how much money they've collected. It's also true that Richard Nixon imposed a surtax on imports under the older Trading With the Enemy Act, which the Trump administration cites as precedent. My reading of the legal commentary suggests that the Court will probably decide that, at the very least, the administration must change the *way* in which it imposes the duties. In any event, the administration itself says it hopes for a green light from the Court, but is prepared to implement a "Plan B" on tariffs in the event of an unfavorable decision.

Putting aside the dubious constitutionality, the White House's on-again, off-again tariff announcements are also poor policy from an economic standpoint. In the beginning of this article, when I laid out the academic case *for* tariffs, the assumption was that the new framework would be something sensible and permanent that businesses could use as the basis for their plans. Investors will be reluctant to build a manufacturing facility if they don't know whether their key foreign inputs will be taxed at 10 percent or 100 percent next month.

Conclusion

As a card-carrying free-market economist, I dislike any and all taxes. On that score, I oppose tariffs. However, given that the government has to raise revenue, there could be a smart way to use tariffs as part of a broader package of income-tax cuts and easing of regulations that would make U.S. industry competitive, and would also raise the standard of living of U.S. households.

Although in theory the careful use of tariffs could make sense, in practice the Trump administration has largely botched the job. If Trump had announced in the first month a long-term strategy based on Stephen Miran's vision, and then stuck to it consistently, I would be the first to defend the White House from libertarian critics extolling the textbook case for free trade. Unfortunately, it's not clear *what* the long-term plan is, partly because Trump seems to say "just kidding" anytime the stock market reacts negatively to his announcements.

In closing, I will point out that, along with other benefits, *a return to sound money* could fix America's chronic trade deficit. Consider: During the Bretton Woods system, from 1946 to 1971, the United States ran a trade surplus in all but one year. (And even the exception year of 1953 had a trade deficit of a mere 0.2 percent of GDP.) In contrast, since Nixon left the gold standard, from 1972 to the present, the United States has had a trade deficit in all but two years. From 1976 to 2024, the United States has had a perpetual string of trade deficits, averaging 2.6 percent of GDP.

Trump's reliance on tariffs is not necessarily as foolish as his harshest critics maintain, but in practice his results have been mixed at best. A much safer way to restore balance to international trade flows, while bolstering the U.S. dollar on the global stage, would be to handcuff the Fed's ability to inflate. ■

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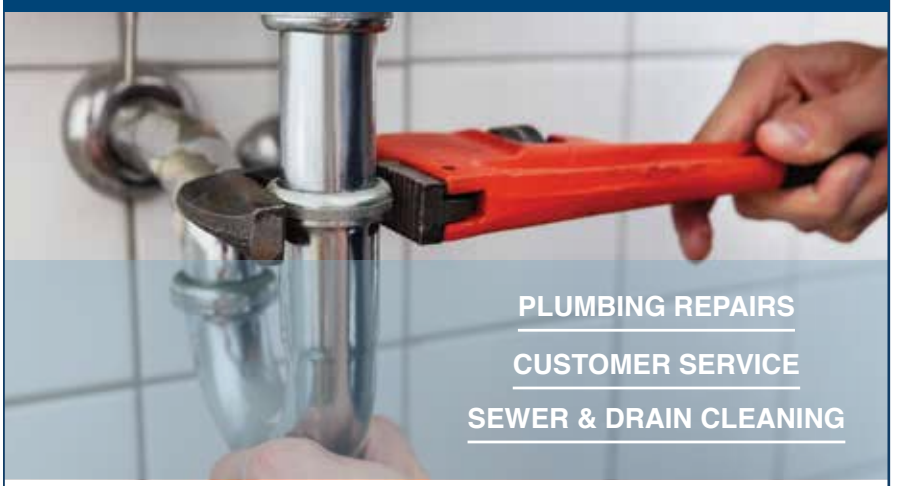

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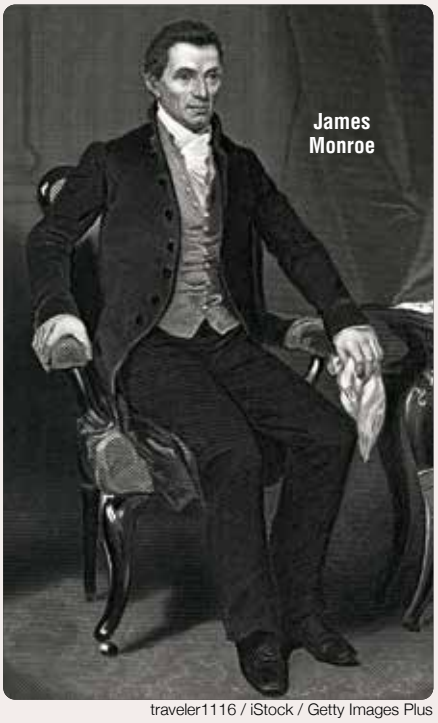
The Monroe Doctrine Revisited



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AT A GLANCE

- The Monroe Doctrine was a commitment to neutrality in European affairs, in exchange for Europe's refraining from further colonization of the New World.
- The Monroe Doctrine was transformed by Teddy Roosevelt into an unlimited writ of authority to intervene in Latin American and overseas affairs.
- The Monroe Doctrine embodied the prudent foreign policy of the Founders: noninterventionist, but mindful of America's legitimate sphere of interest.

by Steve Bonta

The world in 1823 was unsettled, yet perhaps less so than in the preceding 30 years. The terrible Napoleonic conflagration had finally ended, and a Bourbon (Louis XVIII) once again occupied the French throne. The major imperial powers of Europe — England, France, Prussia, Austria-Hungary, and Russia — had devised a new international system, a multilateral scheme that would come to be known as the Concert of Europe, as embodied by the Holy Alliance, the Quintuple Alliance, and the Congress system. The new system of European alliances was supposed to guarantee international peace through collective military enforcement, and was already being strained by the Greek war of Independence against the Ottomans.

In Europe's southwest, meanwhile, decrepit Spain was on the verge of losing her New World dominions. Fatally weakened by Napoleon's depredations, Spain faced comprehensive revolts for independence from Mexico to Argentina, and it was plain to any sober observer that her days as a world-engirding imperial power (indeed, as William Graham Sumner once pointed out, the inventor of European colonialism) were drawing to a close.

The fledgling United States, meanwhile, having weathered the twin trials of the War of 1812 and the Panic of 1819, was looking increasingly toward her vast new western frontier as a base for expansion and settlement. Even as Spain was on the wane, no impartial observer could deny the immense potential of this upstart republic, with its newly acquired territorial troves stretching halfway across the continent and down into the former Spanish domain of Florida.

Monroe Sets the Stage

On December 2, 1823, American President James Monroe gave his seventh annual address to Congress. In many ways a typical "State of the Union address" — Monroe ranged over road and harbor construction, the postal system, and the state of military assets, among other federal expenditures — the speech stood out for its emphasis on foreign relations. Monroe first discussed the ramifications of the Treaty of Ghent (the treaty that ended the War of 1812) in considerable detail, and reiterated America's commitment to neutrality regarding European affairs. Toward the end of his address, he returned to the topic of foreign affairs, with a novel prescription: America, in exchange for refraining from involvement in European affairs, expected European powers to avoid further expansion in the Western Hemisphere:

> In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do.
>
> It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers.
>
> The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Gov-

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The hallmark of proper foreign policy is neither dogmatic adherence to principle in the abstract, nor amoral pragmatism, but instead prudence, a word the Founders had frequent recourse to in their ruminations on foreign policy.

ernments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

This, in its pristinity, is the Monroe Doctrine, one of the least appreciated and most misunderstood and misapplied artifacts of the early American Republic. Less a revolutionary new policy than a restatement of principles already articulated from the Founding Era, the Monroe Doctrine has been as often unjustly maligned as it has been misconstrued.

First of all, the Monroe Doctrine is often misrepresented as a statement about American relations with the rest of the Western Hemisphere. It is not. As J. Reuben Clark, undersecretary of state during Herbert Hoover's administration, once put it, "the doctrine states a case of the United States vs. Europe, not of the United States vs. Latin America." Otherwise put, the doctrine might be considered a formalization of Thomas Jefferson's 1823 foreign policy recommendation, namely, that "our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs." The first half of Jefferson's prescription squares with the noninterventionism famously recommended by George Washington in his Farewell Address, while the second half would seem to imply a certain interventionist disposition as far as the affairs of the Western Hemisphere were concerned. How could two such seemingly contradictory principles both be entertained by the likes of Jefferson and Monroe?

The Quasi War

National Museum of the U.S. Navy

The Founders' Policy

It is impossible to overstate the importance of foreign affairs, however understandable the impulse to ignore the rest of the world with its perplexities. Actions taken by other countries — especially powerful, aggressive regimes with ambitious designs — cannot be overlooked. As James Madison observed in *The Federalist*, No. 41:

> If one nation maintains constantly a disciplined army, ready for the service of ambition or revenge, it obliges the most pacific nations who may be within the reach of its enterprises to take corresponding precautions.
>
> The fifteenth century was the unhappy epoch of military establishments in the time of peace. They were introduced by Charles VII of France. All Europe has followed, or been forced into, the example. Had the example not been followed by other nations, all Europe must long ago have worn the chains of a universal monarch. Were every nation except France now to disband its peace establishments, the same event might follow. The veteran legions of Rome were an overmatch for the un-

Barbary Wars

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disciplined valor of all other nations and rendered her the mistress of the world. Not the less true is it, that the liberties of Rome proved the final victim to her military triumphs; and that the liberties of Europe, as far as they ever existed, have, with few exceptions, been the price of her military establishments. A standing force, therefore, is a dangerous, at the same time that it may be a necessary, provision. On the smallest scale it has its inconveniences. On an extensive scale its consequences may be fatal. On any scale it is an object of laudable circumspection and precaution.

A wise nation will combine all these considerations; and, whilst it does not rashly preclude itself from any resource which may become essential to its safety, will exert all its prudence in diminishing both the necessity and the danger of resorting to one which may be inauspicious to its liberties. The clearest marks of this prudence are stamped on the proposed Constitution.

The hallmark of proper foreign policy is neither dogmatic adherence to principle in the abstract, nor amoral pragmatism, but instead prudence, a word the Founders had frequent recourse to in their ruminations on foreign policy. Prudence is the wisdom to apply principle to practical reality, and the American Founding Fathers learned quickly, via early conflicts with foreign powers, the nuances of prudence. For example: What to do with our erstwhile allies, the French, with whom America had a falling out in the 1790s that resulted in an undeclared naval war? During the American War for Independence, America had agreed to support the French against the British in the West Indies in return for the French assistance that proved pivotal to American success. Because the agreement had no sunset clause, however, revolutionary France continued to invoke it in requesting American support for their campaigns against the Dutch Republic and Great Britain during the War of the First Coalition. Congress declined to give support, and, following the execution of Louis XVI by French revolutionaries, suspended payments on war debts to France, arguing that the new French government was a different entity from the *ancien régime*, one with whom the United States had no contractual obligation. Moreover, relations and trade between Britain and the United States surged during the 1790s, drawing the erstwhile rivals closer together and boxing out the French. In response, the French began seizing American merchant vessels, forcing Congress to rebuild the American Navy at no inconsiderable expense, and to authorize privateers to engage in limited actions against the French. Congress authorized the action but declined to declare war on France, prudently hoping to vindicate American interests by a limited conflict, instead of resorting to the uncertainties of total war. The so-called Quasi War provoked vigorous debate regarding constitutionality, in the absence of a declaration. But the informal conflict lasted until 1800, and was mostly carried out in the Caribbean and in American coastal waters.

Meanwhile, the situation in the Mediterranean involving the lawless Barbary pirates presented another instance in which America was forced to question the limits of noninterventionism. While the Barbary Wars were another undeclared engagement, President Jefferson worked in close consultation with Congress to ensure that every action undertaken against the forces of the dey of Tripoli were done statutorily, and only to protect the lives and property of Americans.

The War of 1812, independent America's first all-out, declared war, illustrated the risks of military weakness. America's ill-prepared military was scarcely a match for the disciplined British-Canadian coalition, the only enemy force to ever breach our nation's capital.

Prime Matters

All of these, and numerous other instructive events, contributed to the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine in its original form. But exactly what were its terms? J. Reuben Clark's famous 1928 memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine lists "six prime matters":

1. The "American continents" were not subject to colonization by any European power. This in terms certainly includes North and South America….
2. The United States would consider any attempt on the part of the "*allied powers*" to extend their system to any

part of "*this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety*."…
3. "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere."…
4. With reference to the Spanish colonies which had declared and maintained their independence and which we had recognized, the United States "could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny … in any other light than as the manifestation of *an unfriendly disposition toward the United States*."…
5. "[T]he United States declared that it was impossible that the *allied powers* should extend their political *system to any portion of either continent* without *endangering our peace and happiness*." It was equally impossible that we should behold "such interposition" by the allied powers in any form without indifference….
6. It was "still the true policy of the United States" to leave the parties, that is, the revolted colonies and Spain, to themselves to adjust their difficulties as they saw fit.

Clearly, the doctrine was not a blanket writ of authority for interventionism, but instead a delineation of a sphere of interest. Simply put, America would not interfere in existing colonial controversies, including the conflict playing out between Spain and her soon-to-be former New World dominions — but she would oppose any new attempts by the Old World to re-colonize or otherwise politically reconfigure the New (note the language in point 4 warning about "controlling in any other manner their destiny").

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Keep Europe Out

But now arises the very interesting question about the "political system" of the "allied powers" that Monroe sought to preclude from the New World. He was referring to what was then known as the "Congress system" and, later, the "Congress of Europe," the first iteration of modern multilateralism that, in the 20th century, produced the League of Nations and the United Nations, and, now, the entire globalist system. All of these had their genesis at the beginning of the 19th century after the defeat of Napoleon, when the great powers that had allied against France created at the Congress of Vienna a system designed to stave off future wars via multilateral negotiation and collective security. In its original form, this system consisted of the Holy Alliance, launched by the Russian Emperor Alexander I in concert with Prussia and Austria-Hungary, and the Quadruple Alliance, which drew in the United Kingdom, and, a few years later, after the Bourbon Restoration, France (at which time it became the Quintuple Alliance). While the Holy Alliance petered out in the 1830s, the Quintuple Alliance coalesced into a series of regular international "congresses" where decisions were made on where to apply military force to keep the peace. The Congress system differed from modern multilateralism by not entailing any permanent organization, but it was similar in its tendency to draw the allies into conflicts against their national self-interests. Certainly, it ended up drawing international troops into the Greek War of Independence at the decisive Battle of Navarino.

In other words, it was the European system of multilateralism and collective security, with its entangling alliances, that Monroe wanted to keep out of the New World. The Monroe Doctrine, then, was intended as a check not merely against European colonialism, but against multilateralist internationalism as well.

The Monroe Doctrine in its original form is a recipe for prudent foreign policy, especially with a modern codicil extending its provisions to the countries of Asia.

American Progress by John Gast, depicting Manifest Destiny

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Monroe Doctrine in Action

In practice, the Monroe Doctrine was soon conflated by many, including President James Polk, with the entirely distinct concept of "Manifest Destiny," the idea that America was destined to expand across the North American continent at the expense of both the aboriginals and prior colonial powers, especially Mexico. As it was, the very first potential test of the Monroe Doctrine, Britain's annexation from Argentina of the Falkland Islands in 1833, passed unremarked in the United States, with the result that that particular European colony remains to the present day a source of justified bitterness in Argentina and the cause of a short but violent war between the U.K. and Argentina in 1982.

The Monroe Doctrine was tested again while America was preoccupied with her own Civil War. Thus temporarily incapacitated, the United States was in no position to enforce the doctrine when the French moved to colonize Mexico in 1861. While we supported Mexico as best we could with diplomacy and espionage, not until two years after our own war was over, in 1867, were we able to convince the French to withdraw.

In the 1890s dispute between Venezuela and the British over the Essequibo region of Guyana, the United States sided with Venezuela — only to have an international panel of arbitrators assign the bulk of the contested territory to Guyana, another regional sore spot that still reverberates. But for all of these glitches, for the most part, the guarantees of the Monroe Doctrine — that novel European powers and political systems would be kept out of the New World, even as old colonial allegiances were wound down — were successfully implemented throughout the 19th century.

Roosevelt Corollary

At the turn of the 20th century, the American political landscape was dominated by Theodore Roosevelt, rugged outdoorsman and military hero-turned politician, whose conduct as president was informed by the famous maxim, "speak softly, and carry a big stick." Renowned for his valor at the Battle of San Juan Hill in America's first true imperialist war, the Spanish-American War, Roosevelt (nowadays reckoned one of America's three populist presidents, akin to Andrew Jackson and Donald Trump) was very supportive of the idea of military interventionism. Believing the Monroe Doctrine to be outdated and insufficient, Roosevelt in his 1904 State of the Union address articulated what came to be known as the "Roosevelt Corollary," the modified version of the Monroe Doctrine that has (despite J. Reuben Clark's subsequent criticism of it) informed American foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere ever since. Roosevelt was perhaps the first internationalist U.S. president, as his wistful anticipation of a "judicial way of enforcing a right in international law" and his praise of the Interparliamentary Union (the first permanent globalist institution, founded in the late 1800s) in that address make clear. Among other things, Roosevelt favored the use of military force for the purposes of international policing, a posture that prefigured Wilsonianism and, of course, modern-day multilateral peacekeeping and collective security:

> If the great civilized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recrudescence of barbarism in one form or another. Under any circumstances a sufficient armament would have to be kept up to serve the purposes of international police; and until international cohesion and the sense of international duties and rights are far more advanced than at present, a nation desirous both of securing respect for itself and of doing good to others must have a force adequate for the work which it feels is allotted to it as its part of the general world duty. Therefore, it follows that a self-respecting, just, and far-seeing nation should … keep prepared, while scrupulously avoiding wrongdoing itself, to repel any wrong, and in exceptional cases to take action which in a more advanced stage of international relations would come under the head of the exercise of the international police.

Based on this "international police" power, Roosevelt articulated a new doctrine regarding American involvement in the rest of the Americas, and, by vaguer implication, elsewhere in the world:

> If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere

> the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

This, then, was the new Monroe Doctrine, in the form of the Roosevelt Corollary, and it led to a flurry of military interventions in Latin America, including Haiti (1915-1934), the Dominican Republic (1916-1924), and Nicaragua (1912-1925, and again in 1926-1933). Throughout the 20th century and into the 21st, the United States has been militarily involved in the overthrow of governments and the installation of new leaders across Latin America, and while some of these (the overthrow of Salvador Allende in Chile, perhaps) might have been justified, most were not. Moreover, with the exception of the Allende overthrow, communist takeovers in Latin America, from Cuba to Nicaragua to Venezuela, have generally been ignored, despite such governments affording clear platforms for the importation of Old World communism. Moving proactively to keep Marxist governments out of the Western Hemisphere would seem to be a prudent application of the Monroe Doctrine in its original form — whereas the deposition of a military dictator of whom we may disapprove (such as Panama's Manuel Noriega or Haiti's Raoul Cedras) is clearly imprudent interventionism in the spirit of the Roosevelt Corollary.

While the Monroe Doctrine is usually associated with Latin America, at least one country has benefited enormously from it: Canada. The presence of American protection relieved Canada of a considerable need to levy troops for its own defense, a fact acknowledged in 1902 by Canadian Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, and allowed Canada the luxury of sending vast numbers of her sons to fight for the Crown in the two world wars. The Monroe Doctrine was also invoked during America's World War II occupation of Greenland, to keep it from falling into German hands.

Asia Pivot

In the 21st century, the primary foreign policy challenge in the Western Hemisphere comes not from Europe but from Asia, a state of affairs that the Eurocentric world of the Monroe Doctrine failed to anticipate. In modern Communist China, the United States faces a clear and very determined enemy bent not only on exporting communism, but also on defeating the United States both economically and, in the long run, militarily. Yet the United States, in utter defiance of good sense, has, until very recently, turned a completely blind eye to the Chinese takeover of the Panama Canal, to its insertion into the affairs of Venezuela and Cuba (filling the gap left by the Soviet Union), and, wherever possible, to its building economic and political ties across Latin America, from Peru to Brazil to Argentina, at American expense.

As threatening as China's military buildup, communist repression, political subversion abroad, and economic and technological rivalry are to the United States from across the Pacific Ocean, they would be immeasurably worse in a future Western Hemisphere dotted with Chinese military bases, full of countries run by governments in open alliance with China, and completely dependent on Chinese loans and infrastructure projects. Even now, for example, China is deeply embedded in the infrastructure of Peru, helping that country build new port facilities — much as it has done over two decades in Sri Lanka, first extending assistance, and then taking advantage of indebtedness to extract territorial concessions. China — not the United States — is the most important ally of the largest country in South America, Marxist Brazil. China continues to control the Panama Canal, even as the issue has faded from the headlines. And China has replaced Russia as communist Cuba's chief patron. Surely action to forestall further Communist Chinese meddling in the Western Hemisphere would not be imprudent; yet our national leadership continues to be paralyzed by Sinophilia, determined to cut a trade deal that would continue to enrich Western bankers and multinationals by building up Chinese trade.

Prudent Policy

In short, the Monroe Doctrine in its original form is a recipe for prudent foreign policy, especially with a modern codicil extending its provisions to the countries of Asia. It most certainly was not intended as a justification for open-ended intervention for the purposes of regime change, social engineering, or nebulously formulated "national interests" of any conceivable stripe. It instead should be a bulwark against the incursion of Old World political systems incompatible with those of the New; for our modern purposes, this most certainly ought to mean communism, revolutionary socialism, and radical Islamism in all of their forms, along with the malign influence of regimes under their sway. However the controversies with Venezuela, Cuba, Panama, and elsewhere are resolved in the coming months and years, the Monroe Doctrine makes it clear that America's hands need not be tied, nor her policy paralyzed, by imprudent and dogmatic adherence to principle bereft of foresight and common sense. ■

Cargo ships in the Panama Canal

AP Images

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AT A GLANCE

- John Taylor championed the preservation of local government under a truly federal system.
- His passion was agriculture, and historian Gordon S. Wood called him "the philosopher of agrarian republicanism."
- He was a formidable opponent of Hamilton's National Bank, paper money, and debt.

First Bank of the United States

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John Taylor of Caroline vs. the The National Bank

by Michael Boldin

In 1794, John Taylor of Caroline published a devastating critique of Alexander Hamilton's financial system — the national bank, paper money, and debt.

Taylor saw these for what they really were: not just policies, but a war on the Constitution itself.

His pamphlet "An Enquiry into the Principles and Tendency of Certain Public Measures" was no mere political tract; it was a systematic demolition of Hamilton's entire program.

Taylor called Hamilton's constitutional interpretations "constructive treasons" — legal sleights of hand used to expand government power.

Foundation Under Attack

By President George Washington's second term, Americans knew something was wrong. The talk was getting louder: monarchy, corruption, and a Constitution being systematically destroyed. Taylor didn't dismiss these concerns as partisan hysteria. They deserved investigation. As he noted in his pamphlet:

> It is often asserted that the administration is driving at monarchy — that the legislature is corrupt — and that the constitution has been more deliberately broken, than it was formed. These assertions are alarming. They deserve investigation.

Taylor knew what he was risking. Sending his pamphlet directly to President Washington meant attacking measures the president himself had signed into law. But he chose truth over political convenience. He wrote:

> In the spirit of truth, and not of adulation, does the following performance solicit your attention. Nor is its hope of acquiring some share of your countenance diminished, by the circumstance of your not having in an official character withheld your signature, from several of the measures investigated.

Taylor's core insight was simple. The problem wasn't just bad policies, as even sound constitutional structures could be corrupted from within: "As a bad form of government, may by means of a good administration, produce national happiness, so a good form of government, may be abused into an engine of fraud and corruption."

The corruption worked slowly. Dangerous precedents would quietly become accepted rules over time: "Mischievous precedents, or innovations upon the constitution, are matured by time into municipal regulations, or fundamental rules."

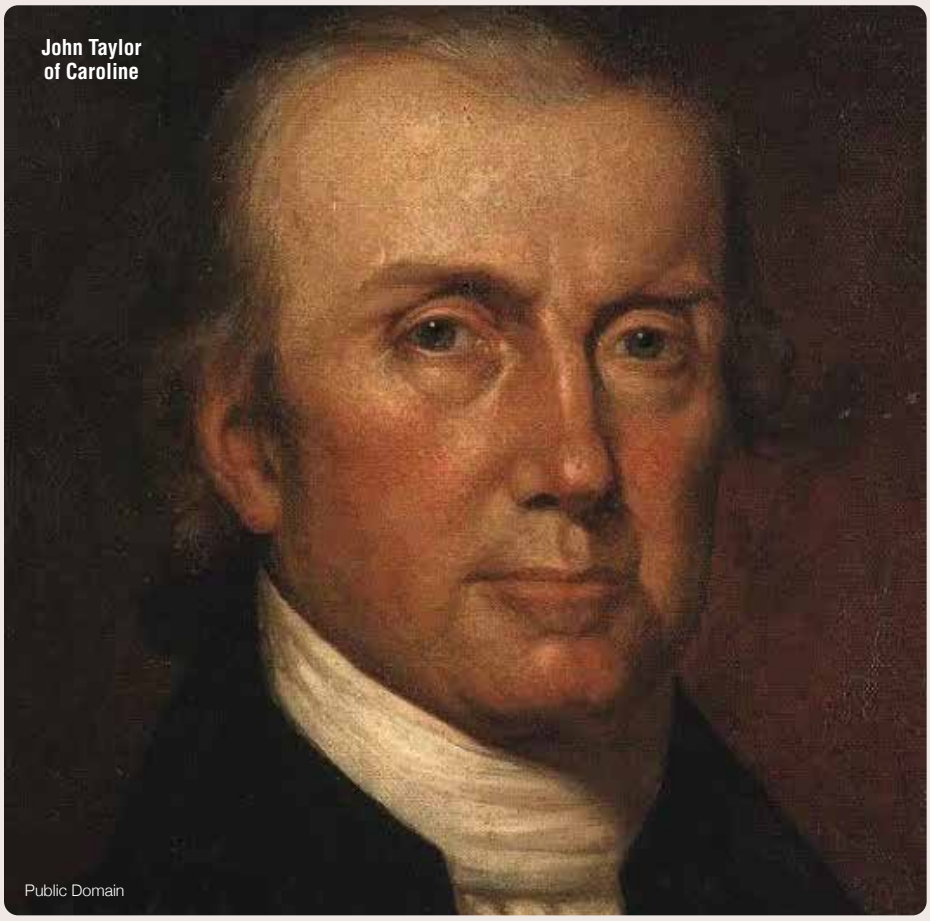
Liberty was a crop that required constant cultivation. Political laziness was no different from a farmer's neglect. Ignore the weeds, and you lose the harvest:

> The wheat can only be separated from the chaff by sifting. Laziness in politics is like laziness in agriculture. It will expose the soil to noxious weeds. The wholesome plants will shrink from a state of indiscriminate amnesty, and disdaining a dishonorable society, will leave the field in the possession of tares and thistles.

Who Was John Taylor?

Born in Caroline County, Virginia, in 1753, John Taylor was orphaned as a young child and sent to live with his uncle, Edmund Pendleton — one of Virginia's most prominent lawyers and states-

Michael Boldin is the founder of the Tenth Amendment Center.


John Taylor of Caroline

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men. After graduating from the College of William and Mary, Taylor studied law in Pendleton's office and was admitted to the bar in 1774.

When the War for Independence began, he set aside his new legal practice to join the Continental Army. He resigned his commission in 1779 and joined the Virginia militia, leaving at war's end with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Agriculture became his passion, and he eventually abandoned the practice of law to focus on his plantation, Hazelwood. This is where Taylor raised a family with his wife, Lucy Penn. Her father was John Penn, a signer of both the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation.

Taylor's political career began in 1779 with his election to the Virginia House of Delegates. He served from 1779 to 1781, from 1783 to 1785, and again from 1796 to 1800.

During the ratification debates of 1787-88, Taylor opposed the proposed Constitution, preferring amendments to the Articles of Confederation over an entirely new system of government. His position reflected his lifelong commitment to the principles of the Revolution — the "Spirit of 1776" — which championed opposition to consolidated power and the preservation of local self-government under a truly federal system.

In 1792, Taylor was appointed to the U.S. Senate to fill the unexpired term of Richard Henry Lee, who was forced to resign due to failing health. In the Senate, Taylor had a front-row seat to what he considered Alexander Hamilton's assault on constitutional government — a consolidation of federal power that violated the founding design of a limited federal government with powers that were few, defined, and enumerated.

He was subsequently elected to a full term in the Senate beginning March 4, 1793, but resigned on May 11, 1794, just months after sending his pamphlet blasting Hamilton's economic system to President Washington.

Though Taylor would serve two more brief Senate stints — during Thomas Jefferson's presidency and again during James Monroe's — he devoted most of the next three decades to prolific writing, producing works that led historian Gordon S. Wood to call him "the philosopher of agrarian Republicanism."

Foundational Principles

After witnessing firsthand on the Senate floor the arguments to implement Hamilton's program, Taylor constructed his constitutional case with systematic precision. He didn't attack Hamilton's system with vague complaints. He established clear constitutional principles to test every piece of the program.

These weren't simply academic theories — they were the measuring sticks of legitimate, constitutional government.

Taylor's first principle cut to the heart of the American system itself. He emphasized "That the constitution contemplates a republican form of government, flowing from and depending on the people; and that a mode of administration, destructive of such dependence, and introductory of monarchical ingredients, innovates upon and subverts the constitution."

The second principle put a lock around congressional taxing power: "Congress can impose taxes for the common defence and general welfare, of the United States, but not for the benefit of individuals or their own private emolument."

This wasn't some minor technical point — it was the difference between legitimate government and legalized plunder.

Taylor's third principle reminded readers that government serves as merely an *agent* of the people of the several states. The moment it exceeds constitutional limits, "government is converted into an usurpation."

The Bank Scheme

Having established his constitutional standards, Taylor put Hamilton's system to the test. He didn't need to look far for evidence. Exhibit A was the national bank, a system designed to enrich a powerful few at everyone else's expense.

Established in 1791, the bank's funding mechanism exposed its true purpose. Instead of requiring actual money deposits, the law allowed stockholders to purchase three-fourths of their bank stock using government securities that carried six percent interest. Those who

U.S. Federal Reserve headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Philip /Adobe Stock

had bought up government debt at pennies on the dollar during the 1780s could now exchange it at full face value for bank stock.

Taylor correctly diagnosed this as a wealth-transfer scheme disguised as economic policy: "A portion of the rich class of citizens, are the proprietors of the device, whilst labour supports it. An annuity to a great amount, is suddenly conjured up by law, which is received exclusively by the rich, that is the aristocracy. Will it not make them richer?"

But the corruption went deeper than just enriching speculators. The bank created conflicts of interest that poisoned the government itself. When congressmen became bank stockholders, they had a personal financial stake in the laws they passed. It was the fox guarding the hen house:

> If a number of the members of Congress are stock-holders, or bank directors, then an illegitimate interest is operating on the national legislature — then the bank hath seduced away from their natural and constitutional allegiance, the representatives of the state.

The corruption didn't stop with domestic conflicts of interest; the bank opened the door to foreign influence. When foreigners bought bank stock, they gained direct influence over American government. Taylor saw the danger immediately: "And then, even foreigners — our late most malignant and inveterate enemy — have obtained an influence on our national councils, so far as they have obtained bank stock. The English who could not conquer us, may buy us."

Paper-money Deception

Taylor wasn't fooled by fancy language about banking. Hamilton was building a system to manufacture money out of thin air.

Here's how it worked: The national bank issued paper notes that were the only notes the federal government accepted for tax payments. When people paid taxes with these notes, the money flowed right back to the bank itself. It was a closed loop that gave the new banking institution enormous power over the nation's monetary system, and created a de facto national paper currency.

Hamilton didn't hide what he was doing. In theory, all those notes were redeemable in specie. But Hamilton openly acknowledged the bank would print more paper than it held in gold and silver, an early system of fractional reserve banking. His justification was that other banks were already doing it: "It is a well established fact, that Banks in good credit can circulate a far greater sum than the actual quantum of their capital in Gold & Silver."

The numbers prove the point. According to the St. Louis Federal Reserve, the First Bank of the United States maintained a loan-to-specie ratio of about 5:1 throughout its 20-year existence. For every dollar of real money the bank held, it created five dollars in paper.

John Taylor saw this fraud coming from a mile away. He'd lived through the Continental currency disaster during the Revolution. Ever wonder where the phrase "not worth a continental" comes from? That's right — massive inflation caused by printing (unbacked) paper money during the War for Independence.

Taylor had watched that economic catastrophe unfold, and now saw Hamilton setting up the same disastrous system: "The nation, but just emerged from the unforeseen misfortunes of paper money, [is] suddenly overwhelmed by the ruin of a paper policy."

As Taylor noted, the economic damage from the Revolution's paper money rivaled the carnage of the battlefield: "The calamities of the last war, resulting from the banishment of specie by a paper medium, were probably equivalent to those produced by the sword. The banking contrivances are rapidly reducing us again, to the same ruinous and miserable situation."

But, for Taylor, this wasn't just bad policy; it was a blatant violation of the Constitution:

> In not giving the power of establishing a paper currency to the one, and in taking it expresly from the other, the constitution designed to secure the society against the frauds and vices of paper tricks. That circulating paper medium of every kind was intended to be inhibited, is obvious from the distinction, between such a medium, and making any thing a tender.

Taylor took the position that the Constitution slammed the door shut on paper-money schemes. Hamilton just kicked it down.

Debt as a Tool of Control

Taylor's next target was the debt itself. He called out the dangerous philosophy driving Hamilton's economic system: "A minister intoxicated with influence, will exclaim, 'Public debt is a public blessing,' for taxes are an incitement to industry."

That wasn't just Taylor's hypothesis. Years earlier, Hamilton had famously writ-

ten exactly that to Robert Morris: "A national debt if it is not excessive will be to us a national blessing; it will be powerfull cement of our union. It will also create a necessity for keeping up taxation to a degree which without being oppressive, will be a spur to industry."

Hamilton's program was built to keep the United States in debt — permanently. Taylor challenged the constitutional basis for this entire scheme: "Where does the constitution contemplate an influential character in the person of a Secretary of the Treasury, entitling him to prescribe to Congress political dogmas? Or whence arises the right of the federal government, to apply stimulants to industry?"

Jefferson saw what Hamilton was doing, as well. In a letter to President Washington, he exposed Hamilton's addiction to debt as a tool of power and control: "This exactly marks the difference between Colo. Hamilton's views and mine, that I would wish the debt paid tomorrow; he wishes it never to be paid, but always to be a thing wherewith to corrupt and manage the legislature."

Taylor also understood the mechanics of how this debt-based control actually worked: "It was and is the fashion of thinking, that a public debt unequally held, gives permanency and weight to government. That is, to use plain terms, it will enable government to control the will of the people, by counterbalancing it with the weight of wealth."

This aligned with Hamilton's well-known desire to eliminate the states and create a single, national government. His plan for federal assumption of state war debts was seen by Taylor as a tool designed to centralize power by destroying state independence: "To dissolve all money relationship, between individuals, and the separate states, would on the one hand diminish the state power, and tend to consolidation, and on the other create an undue influence, by which the consolidated power might be managed."

For Taylor, the next step was obvious. Once the federal government assumed state debts, federal taxation would follow: "A recurrence to direct taxation by Congress, will swallow up the little sovereignty, now left to the once sovereign individual States; and every accumulation of the debts of the union, is an impulse towards that end."

He saw the bank as the key mechanism to implement Hamilton's scheme, and explained it as a three-step strategy:

> The funding system was intended to effect, what the bank was contrived to accelerate.
>
> 1. Accumulation of great wealth in a few hands.
> 2. A political moneyed engine.
> 3. A suppression of the republican state assemblies, by depriving them of the political importance, resulting from the imposition and dispensation of taxes.

This wasn't accidental policy drift; it was a coordinated assault on the Constitution.

The Sinking-fund Fraud

Taylor found the perfect example of a scheme that exposed Hamilton's true intentions. It was called the "sinking fund" — and, officially, it was created to pay down the national debt.

Approved by Congress in 1790, the law established a commission of five officials to manage surplus revenue in order to retire government debt.

Congress directed that any revenue remaining after appropriations "shall be applied to the purchase of the debt of the United States, at its market price, if not exceeding the par or true value thereof."

The "debt" consisted of government certificates, that is, paper IOUs from the war that were now being publicly traded. The sinking fund's role was to enter this market and "buy back" these certificates from their holders with any surplus funds.

Taylor considered even the name "sinking fund" itself a lie: "Even its name was a fraud upon the community. It ought to have been denominated 'the raising fund,' for it was designed to raise the price of certificates."

Hamilton reported that about $1.3 million in surplus revenue existed to fund these debt purchases. But Taylor noticed something that exposed the entire operation as a fraud.

During the same period this debt-retirement fund was being established, Hamilton unilaterally borrowed money from Holland — an action Taylor claimed was taken illegally:

> The minister commenced the borrowing of money in Holland, and drawing it to this country, without law, and without the sanction of the President; by which means, continued even to the present year, monies have been obtained to a much greater amount, than the whole sinking fund.

Taylor saw the contradiction immediately. Hamilton couldn't have it both ways. Either the surplus was real and the foreign borrowing was unnecessary, or the borrowing was necessary and the surplus was

Taylor didn't just tear down Hamilton's system and walk away. He understood that the Constitution required active defense by the people and the states themselves.

a lie: "If the surplus of revenue existed, why was the money borrowed, and drawn illegally hither from Holland? If not, why was the fact officially asserted?"

The math, Taylor argued, exposed the entire operation. By January 1793, less than $1 million from the sinking fund had actually been used, while Hamilton had borrowed a far larger sum from Holland. Worse, the government was now paying interest to Dutch bankers on these new loans while the supposed "surplus" money for the sinking fund sat idle in America, earning nothing. This absurdity led Taylor to ask the central question: "How was the debt sunk, by the erection of a fund, producing the necessity of incuring a new debt, to a greater amount than the fund itself?"

The fund's real purpose was not to sink the debt, but to manipulate the market. These purchases artificially propped up prices, enriching the speculators who had acquired certificates cheaply. The contradictions only made sense if that were the real goal: "If keeping up, or raising the price of certificates be considered as the primary object, all these difficulties are solved."

The sinking fund's failure was predictable — England had already proven it didn't work. The British had established a similar fund when their national debt was moderate. Since doing so, their debt had exploded to over £300 million.

Now the United States was copying the same failed scheme. This wasn't fiscal mismanagement, Taylor argued; it was fiscal fraud, designed to perpetuate the very debt it claimed to eliminate. He predicted the inevitable result:

> Under the operation of our sinking fund, the public debt, has been continually accumulating also, and a proportional augmentation, will undoubtedly in less than a century, enable us to contend with England itself, for the first rank among the honourable society of national spendthrifts.

The Counterrevolution

For Taylor, the elaborate deception of the sinking fund was not an isolated case of financial malpractice. He saw it as a key piece of evidence proving his larger charge that Hamilton's entire program was a full-blown revolution against the Constitution and the people.

It aimed "radically to destroy the constitution, and to erect upon its ruins an usurpation, not sanctioned by the national will, or acknowledging the fundamental principle; that the people are the only legitimate fountain of civil government."

How did Hamilton's supporters justify this constitutional coup? They fell back on "constructive" powers — the idea that the Constitution secretly implied powers it never expressly delegated.

These defenders of the bank, Taylor noted, were "reduced to the narrow ground of asserting, that a power is tacitly implied, conflicting and subverting the most fundamental principles, earnestly and loudly expressed."

Think about that for a moment: They were claiming the Constitution contained hidden meanings that directly contradicted its explicit text. Taylor had a name for these phantom powers: "Constructive powers, are like constructive treasons."

Legalized treason.

Solutions

Taylor didn't just tear down Hamilton's system and walk away. He understood that the Constitution required active defense by the people and the states themselves: "Therefore if liberty is a national object, the nation itself must watch over the constitution, preserve it from violation, and supply its defects, or admit it to be the Lethe of the community, producing an intire forgetfulness of the rights of man."

He laid out a three-part plan of defense.

First (and this should be obvious), stop electing corrupt representatives to the House.

Second, the states needed to maintain control over the Senate. (That power, of course, was later stolen from the states through the 17th Amendment.)

Third, and most important, the states themselves must act as constitutional guardians. "The state legislatures have at least as good a right to judge of every infraction of the constitution, as Congress itself."

Constructive powers, constructive treasons. Here's the bottom line: They end when the people and the states say "no." ■

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Having Lethal Power Is a Mark of Freedom

by Paul Dragu

Outside the United States, most of the Western world generally thinks it's crazy that regular American citizens are allowed to own firearms. The "civilized" Anglosphere sees this as a sign of backwardness, a feature of societal lunacy, an indication of a wild civilization akin to a herd of Neanderthals who supposedly ran around clubbing each other at the first offensive grunt. They mock our ways with a blend of confidence and ignorance.

The "civilized" people of the West have been conditioned to believe that because criminals use guns to unjustly kill their victims, the remedy is to ensure that those who would become their victims do not have equally lethal means to protect themselves. They think that only government officials should have guns. This, of course, is an irrational line of thinking, and it's just one of many.

These views are, for the most part, shared by America's anti-gun Left. But no matter how many people believe this, it remains naïve and ignorant. I will point out just three glaring holes in these arguments.

First, regarding the idea that only government officials should have firearms, the implication is that those people are more responsible and trustworthy than others. Essentially, we are to believe that authorities are less likely to abuse lethal power.

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But history (and the present) tells quite a different story. First off, police corruption runs rampant across not only the United States, but the entire Anglosphere. Today, there are mountains of ongoing criminal investigations into police officers and departments across Europe, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

Moreover, no one has killed more innocent people than governments. In the 20th century alone, the governments of some of the largest countries on Earth went on killing rampages. From Soviet Russia to Mao's China to the communist states in Latin America, government agents with guns murdered at least 200 million defenseless civilians in just one century. They carried out some of the most gruesome, diabolical massacres in the history of mankind. They perpetrated unspeakable acts of torture and death, and they did it because they could — because their victims were disarmed.

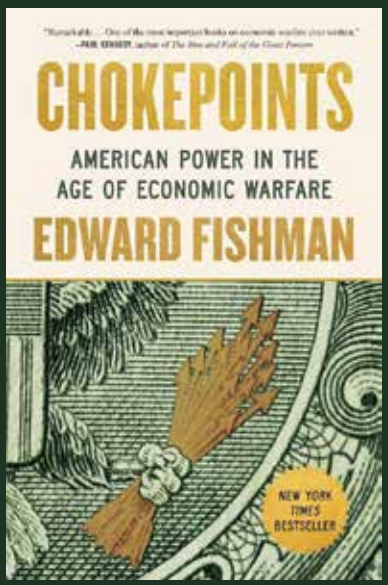
Second, if you are not allowed to have lethal means of protection in a world filled with deadly dangers, you are not free. One of the most basic marks of a free man is that he has the ability to protect himself — and his family — from harm, whether that harm comes from bears or burglars. How free can you be if you have to wait on the authorities to save you from a raging lunatic breaking down your door? What sort of free man has no means to protect himself and his property from predatory animals? Should a free man be forced to walk the dangerous streets of a city his tax dollars maintain without means of protection from drug-addled maniacs? What free man does not have the same means of protecting himself that gangsters have for terrorizing?

Third, a people the authorities do not fear is a people the authorities will abuse. This is as clear today as it has been throughout history. It's no coincidence that slaves weren't allowed to own guns. It's no coincidence that the Nazis confiscated guns before they gassed their Jewish citizens. And it's no coincidence that communist governments do not allow their citizens (correction: their subjects) to have firearms.

Also, is it a coincidence that most Anglosphere countries, once bastions of liberty where citizens had gun rights, are now arresting people over social-media posts? Is it a coincidence they're arresting people for praying outside of abortion clinics? Of course not.

When you strip the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution down to its core, the conclusion is simple: Free people can have guns, subjects cannot. ■

Globalist Influence Behind U.S. Foreign Policy



by William P. Hoar

***Chokepoints: American Power in the Age of Economic Warfare*,** by Edward Fishman, New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2025, 558 pages, hardcover.

If all the world's a stage, then there will always be those who believe they have a better script about how to reshape it. Military force, of course, remains one path to dramatic change. But that's not the only way to control our destiny as a nation. The "chokepoints" alluded to in the title of *Chokepoints: American Power in the Age of Economic Warfare* by Edward Fishman refer to economic warfare in general, along with microchip technology, energy supply chains — including rare earths, fossil fuels, and nuclear power — and the weaponization of strategic financial institutions. The story is also about those who seek to remake the globe, both well-known players and the unsung laboring in the wings.

The script at hand largely covers contemporary events, with sections from 2006 to the near-present, broken down into economic weapons first deployed against Iran, then used against Russia (when Moscow took over Crimea), then aimed at China and its technology moves, and again directed at Russia following its subsequent invasion of Ukraine. It begins with short dives into older times, from Pericles to Saddam Hussein, and concludes with an examination of the current world economy.

Fishman teaches at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs and is a senior research scholar at the Center on Global Energy Policy. He previously served at the U.S. State Department, at the Pentagon as an advisor to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and at the U.S. Treasury Department. He has written for, among others, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Atlantic*; he was also an editor at *Foreign Affairs* (the journal of the globalist -minded Council on Foreign Relations).

Books have difficulties in trying to keep up with what is happening today. To mention just a few episodes occurring after the book was written, Israeli and U.S. warplanes struck multiple Iranian nuclear sites; Tehran began re-denominating is currency; the United States has (largely) taken apart its Foreign Malign Influence Center; Ukraine has carried out military strikes on Russia's oil infrastructure; Taiwan is trying to protect itself from a potential Chinese energy blockade; Beijing is trying to get preapproval for exports that use rare-earth components that came from China; President Donald Trump has been all over the place with U.S. tariffs on China; and (apparently to the delight of *The New York Times*) the rest of the world is making up the difference on what American importers are not buying from China by purchasing more Chinese exports than ever.

For more up-to-date particulars, check today's headlines.

Targeting Iran, Russia, China

Though we have not counted them individually, it's a good bet that the operative words used most frequently in this book are "economic warfare" and "sanctions." In discussing who deserves the credit for pressure used against Iran, the author gives a slight nod to Congress for throwing an alley oop (using a basketball analogy), but cheers for the "sanctions technocrats" for maneuvering through the defense, leaping into the air, then catching "the ball in traffic before completing a rim-rattling dunk." As luck would have it, it turns out that Edward Fishman is also one of those technocrats. (He writes that he took part in some of the activities described in the sections about the 2014 Russian annexation of Crimea and in the campaign that led to the nuclear deal with Iran in 2015.)

The "Cast of Characters" section in the book reminds readers (for example) that it was Daleep Singh who served at the Treasury Department during the annexation of Crimea, was a deputy national security advisor in Joe Biden's administration, and was a key architect of sanctions against Russia in 2012 and 2022. The

volume's glossary will explain that FDPR stands for Foreign Direct Product Rule — a measure used by the Commerce Department against Huawei, the global provider of information- and communications-technology infrastructure and smart devices, which has a key role in the account. The excellent maps, charts, and illustrations are decidedly pluses.

If you charitably look the other way over unwarranted anti-Trump sneers, Fishman's prose is usually clear and only occasionally purple. Comparing campaigns against Iran and Russia, for example, in summarizing he points out that the effort against Tehran was (using a term of the time) "aimed to shock and awe, confronting the Islamic Republic with the full brunt of America's economic arsenal." The campaign against Russia, he says, was a contrast, and "a series of surgical strikes." The writer habitually uses military jargon for economic actions, and he doesn't hide his political leanings.

Here's a sample. Talking about (previously discussed) pressure on Moscow, Fishman notes that,

> in full partnership with the EU, the United States curtailed Russia's access to capital and technology. The vast majority of Russia's economy remained untouched. Sanctions inflicted major damage on Russia's economy, but they left behind a relatively small blast radius.

The different treatment given to Xi Jinping and Donald Trump, for another example, is a bit vexing. Within two pages, Fishman cites about the latter: "'We can't continue to allow China to rape our country,' [Trump] snarled on the campaign." Then, just sentences later, we see China's dictator being feted at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Fishman contrasts Trump's "America First" message at home and Xi's supposed support of the "global economy" — with an affinity for Xi's side. Trump is the heinous "disrupter," we read, while "Xi presented himself [to the WEF] as a defender of the status quo — a status quo that had made many of the people in the Davos audience rich."

Ignored are millions of captive Chinese, occupied Tibetans, and Uyghurs suffering from genocide.

Huawei: Tip of the CCP's Spear

In contrast with the author's typical negative tone about Trump and his personnel, he does salute Matt Pottinger, the deputy national security advisor on Trump's National Security Council (who served as a Marine in Iraq and Afghanistan), noting that Pottinger was key in pushing a more aggressive U.S. policy toward China. For example, he was instrumental (while being careful not to reveal classified information) in informing the domestic semiconductor industry about how Chinese intelligence had been using (in Fishman's telling) Huawei equipment in Addis Ababa "as a 'backdoor' to siphon data" from their new building built with Chinese funding and equipment over a period of years.

Pottinger also told industry representatives that they were, in essence, selling equipment to Huawei and thus reinforcing that effort. Writes Fishman:

> To continue with business as usual, he argued, would be like letting the KGB build the U.S. telecommunications systems at the height of the Cold War simply because the Soviets were offering a discount.

Though most were sympathetic to the message, reports the author, most doubted that Washington would do much to correct the situation. A quotation — think a cartoon speech balloon — appeared over this reviewer's head upon reading this, from economist Milton Friedman: "One of the great mistakes is to judge policies and programs by their intentions rather than their results." Yes, and one knows what awaits those who stride on that road paved with good intentions.

There's considerable information in *Chokepoints* about China's intellectual-property theft and forced technology transfer, with Huawei (whose founder is a longtime member of the Chinese Communist Party, or CCP) being at the "forefront of this strategy." As Fishman acknowledges, Huawei was "nominally the largest private company in China," but was "actually the tip of the spear of the CCP's grand designs."

Over time, too much for our good, U.S. officials cited in the book came to the realization that China's "peaceful rise" was not that at all. The countermoves needed against Beijing were somewhat different than those against Iran and Russia. They required, explains the author, learning how to "manipulate another chokepoint of the world economy — not Wall Street and the U.S. dollar but Silicon Valley and cutting-edge American technology."

Readers get to watch comprehensive aspects of the chess game. Yet, even now, as Fishman recounts, the question remains about whether the West will be able to contain Beijing's access to advanced technology. China, he writes, "is pouring billions of additional dollars into its domestic chip sector, and it has put Huawei in charge of a coordinated, state-backed plan to erect a self-sufficient semiconductor design and production network."

Deploying Banks, Not Tanks

Leading into his section on Iran, the author shakes his head over what occurred in the aftermath of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, saying there was "a Sisyphean quality to them — whatever progress was made, it was undone." In the process, he concludes, "military power lost its luster in Washington and the support of the American people."

Enter the "new era of economic warfare," led by technocrats and weaponized finance.

We're not talking about blood and guts and George Patton and Audie Murphy in World War II, but the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act (CISADA) signed by President Barack Obama in 2010. Lest you forget, we are reminded that "Europeans loved Obama" and his "respect for diplomacy," and we have our memory jogged about how the "Norwegians awarded him the Nobel Peace Prize just months into his presidency." After many chapters of fine points, we read:

> The novel combination of the traditional stick of sanctions (losing access to the U.S. financial system) with an economic carrot (the possibility of higher exports) proved effective. After the policy went into force in early 2013, banks everywhere, including in China, fell into line. The escrow accounts were established, and Iran's petrodollars remain off-

shore. Tehran was blindsided by the stringency and uniformity of compliance.

That said, after this volume was published, we were told that Iran had been operating just below "nuclear breakout capability" for some time, and it had reportedly accumulated enough enriched uranium to build 22 nuclear bombs within months — leading to military action in June 2025 by Israel and the United States. It was in *Time* magazine, so it must be so.

There's a lot to learn in *Chokepoints*, even if a judicious reader doesn't buy the whole package. We're still dealing with the aftermath of Russia's actions in Ukraine, starting with Putin's takeover of Crimea. That was, in the author's words, "the first act of territorial conquest on European soil since World War II." After a comprehensive summation of the thrusting and parrying of Western technocrats versus Russian ones, we are reminded of Obama flashing a "small grin" at his State of the Union address in January 2015, swaggering about how America and its allies were standing strong, even as Russia "is isolated with its economy in tatters."

Edward Fishman

Public Domain

Fishman observes that the economic weapons of the United States

> could throw even a big power like Russia off balance. Sanctions had not, however, changed facts on the ground in Ukraine. Russian flags still fluttered over Crimea, and Kremlin-backed militias still ruled swaths of the Donbas. And as Obama's speech beamed to TV screens around the world, Putin's fighters were readying a new offensive.

When we jump to a later section (and with the passage of time), *Chokeholds* returns to the theme of "Banks vs. Tanks," which is the apt title of a chapter in the section about Putin's subsequent invasion of Ukraine, when the Biden administration wanted to punish Moscow but not cause an unbearable impact on allied nations in Europe or painful increased prices in our country. A crisis was building. U.S. intelligence agencies, we are told, were suggesting "that Putin is preparing a blitzkrieg, expecting that Russian flags will be flying over Kyiv in 48 hours after the operation begins."

Threatening Putin Over Ukraine Invasion

On the other side of this projected blitzkrieg, readers encounter representatives of the most powerful country on the planet, including President Biden's Chief of Staff Ron Klain, who was extremely worried. About what? We learn that he got up every day at about 3:30 a.m., "anxiously" checking the average gasoline price. One is reminded of the quip about the real meaning of *terror* for people of a certain age: That's when you wake up and discover that it is members of your high-school graduating class that are running the country.

Other players in action are from the National Security Council and Treasury Department. Tensions mount. One is led to believe (or so the buildup intimates) that what is about to come will be akin to a combination of Alexander's battle of Gaugamela, Hastings and the remaking of Europe, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, or the thwarting of Napoleon at Trafalgar.

A countermove is devised by yet another within the cast of brainiac characters, filtered through leaders of the Group of Seven (though Japan somehow missed the word, at least at first) and then sifted among the 27 countries of the European Union. The solution? In part, "Russia's central bank assets would not be 'frozen,' they would be 'immobilized'" — though even Fishman admits that "was a distinction without a difference."

The mountain delivers a mouse. Fishman writes that the "serious consequences" privately threatened by President Obama "against Putin turned out to be a slap on the wrist. Needless to say, they would not 'crash' Russia's economy."

Some positive points aside, the author acknowledges that the 2022 sanctions by the Biden administration against Russia "did not prevent its invasion of Ukraine." Nor did they "degrade its military capacity quickly or comprehensively enough to facilitate a decisive Ukrainian victory on the battlefield."

Fishman does offer some long-term solutions that he apparently fancies. They amount to what you'd probably imagine from a technocrat with his leanings: bigger and more intrusive government, though this is not expressed so directly. The author suggests, among other things, the creation of a "permanent economic war council within the U.S. government," with officials on temporary assignments "from State, Treasury, Commerce, the CIA, and other relevant agencies."

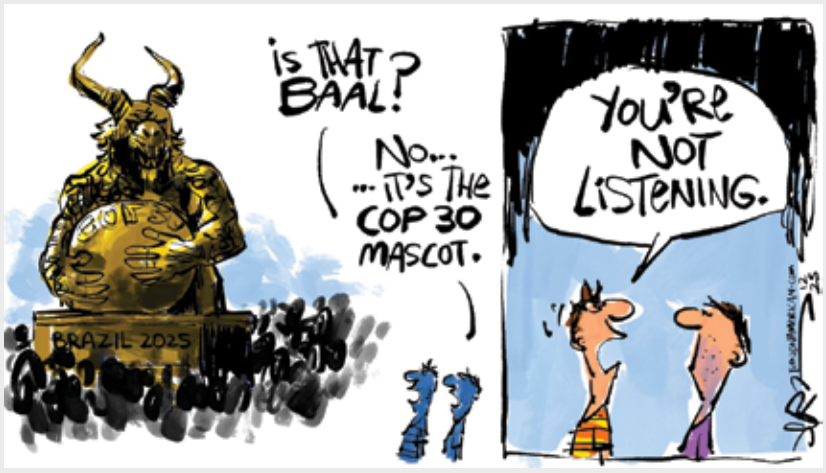
They could pull in reinforcements from the private sector and academia. Where can those folks be found? Presumably there would be a perennial opening of a chokepoint with the creation of programs in public policy and international relations, which "should include required courses on economic warfare, which should be treated as a subject of equal importance to military affairs."

Not mentioned are beacons of freedom and hope, a God-blessed land, or a shining city on a hill. Those are seemingly quaint but obsolete concepts, too antiquated for today's ultrasophisticated technocrats. ■

THE LAST WORD

The Greatest Scam on Earth

by John T. Larabell



The idea that human emissions of carbon dioxide are causing catastrophic warming on the Earth is arguably the greatest hoax ever perpetrated in human history. It is perhaps the greatest "Big Lie" ever promulgated by governments, in concert, around the world. As *The New American* has so accurately documented, literally none of the disaster predictions of so-called climate scientists has come true. Not one. What's more, many of the arguments put forth by these "scientists" and then echoed by governments and NGOs the world over are simply illogical and unscientific on their face.

Yet the lies and propaganda persist. The globalists at the UN are still holding their climate conferences, meeting in luxurious accommodations after being flown in on private jets. As we outline in our cover story package in this issue of *The New American*, this year's Conference of the Parties (COP30) in Belém, Brazil, was business as usual: more hysteria, more doom and gloom, and more calls for developed countries to fork over trillions of dollars that will only end up enriching the global elites. It's really just a massive, worldwide extortion racket: Pay up, or you're all doomed!

More than a racket, the whole climate-change ideology has become a religion for many people, taking the place of traditional faith systems. For climate alarmists, the Earth, or nature, functions as god. This goes beyond, say, a Judeo-Christian concept of the Earth as a part of creation, something that was made by the God who should be worshipped, and thus should be respected and cared for but never seen as somehow "divine."

The whole idea of free-market capitalism is considered sinful to alarmists. For them, sustainability is the new salvation. Paying a carbon tax or purchasing "carbon offsets" is a good way to cleanse a guilty Green conscience. Donating time and money to environmental causes is another way people can make atonement for their sins against Gaia, and lowering one's living standards and consumption is always a great thing to do, according to alarmists.

Indeed, many adherents to this green religion live out their faith with remarkable zeal, taking any new climate pronouncement at face value and refusing to even listen to evidence proving their worldview wrong. Let's let some leading alarmists speak for themselves:

French scientist, environmentalist, and author René Dubos wrote, "Our salvation depends upon our ability to create a religion of nature."

Rajendra Pachauri, head of the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change from 2002 to 2015, remarked, "For me the protection of Planet Earth, the survival of all species and sustainability of our ecosystems is more than a mission. It is my religion and my *dharma*."

Al Gore, former U.S. vice president, multimillionaire, and writer of *An Inconvenient Truth*, claimed, "The fate of mankind, as well as religion, depends on the emergence of a new faith in the future. Armed with such a faith, we might find it possible to resanctify the earth."

Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev wrote, "I envisage the principles of the Earth Charter to be a new form of the ten commandments"; "Nature is my god. To me, nature is sacred; trees are my temples and forests are my cathedrals."

This religious zeal was on full display at COP30. As mentioned in our cover story package, various representatives of pagan religions conducted prayers and rituals in what was essentially a display of nature-worship. Top UN officials referenced "Mother Earth" and the "spirit of the forest." The "Guardian Spirit" statue gifted by the Chinese Communist Party certainly drew a lot of attention, with many Christians seeing it as a demonic display.

The best way to combat this scam — and end it once and for all — is the same way one stops any other scam: by spreading the truth. The success of the elites in implementing their climate agenda depends on a vast majority of the world's people believing the lie. Once enough people see the truth, the entire hoax will come crashing down like a house of cards. ■

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